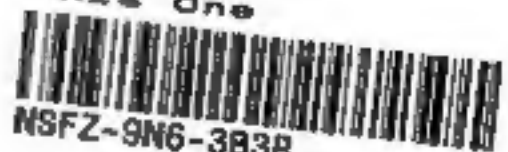


This triple volumes Encyclopædia is a comprehensive and thematic compilation of all important aspects of Śiva and Śaivism in alphabetical order which took active part in origin and development of Indian religio-philosophical tradition. Śiva is one of the eminent ancient Hindu God. Śaivism creates the principle religious current of classical and modern Hinduism which centers on the worship of Lord Śiva. In classical Hindu mythology, Śiva is the god of destruction, generally portrayed as a Yogin who lives in Himalaya. In these volumes, I present more than 1000 themes on Śiva and Śaivism from primitive to modern society.

Encyclopaedia of the Śaivism

This One



NSFZ-9N6-3B3R

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Encyclopaedia of the Śaivism

Volume-3

Swami Parmeshwaranand

Sarup & Sons

New Delhi-110002

Published by
Sarup & Sons
4740/23, Ansari Road
Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110002
Ph : 23281029, 23244664
email : sarupandsonsin@hotmail.com

Encyclopaedia of the Śaivism

ISBN : 81-7625-427-4 (set)

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First Edition 2004

PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Prabhat Kumar Sharma for Sarup & Sons, Laser Typeset at Manas Typesetter and
Printed at Roshan Offset Printers, Delhi-110053

Preface

This three volumes Encyclopaedia of Śaivism is a compilation of comprehensive and informative source of religio-philosophical tradition of Śiva and Śaivism. Lord Śiva created or manifested this world out of His free will and on his own accord (*Lila* and *Swatantryasākti*). He is the absolute reality both in his transcendental and immanent aspects. The world is not separate from him. Lord Paramaśiva has manifested himself in two forms, viz., the experiencer and the experienced. The experiencer is *Grahaka*, the individual self and the experienced is *Grahya*, the universe or the objective world. The individual self is no other than Lord Himself with powers limited.

The Universe is divided into thirty-six *tattvas* or categories of universal experience. These are grouped in two ways, as pure order and impure order. The pure order is divided into five Subdivisions Śiva, Śakti, Sadasiva, Isvara, Suddha-vidya. Out of these five categories, the first-two Śiva and Śakti will not undergo any dual change though these are the potential source for further divisions from *Maya* down to earth. When the absolute *Maheśvara*, by his 'Swatantrya' or absolute will, feel like letting go the universe contained in Him, in the first vibration or throbbing of this will he is known as Śiva. This initial creative movement is *Śivatāta*. This is the State of pure *Chaitanya*-Substratum of all changes.

The term Śiva is used for the ultimate condition of consciousness in its immanent aspect. Śiva comprises both the Universal and the individual and manifests as consciousness in conditional form. There is no differentiating attributes to Śiva. Śiva is here called *anāsrita*-Śiva because he is the first manifestation of the Supreme being cognising consciousness alone devoid of objects. It is identified as the stage of the *Sunya*. There is no objective content in it. It is only an *avastha* a state.

Though there can be no differentiation between Śiva and Śakti as such, the 'Cit' is nevertheless know as Śiva insofar as it is free from all differentiating attributes and as Śakti by virtue of its characteristic self awareness Śiva and Śakti are inseparably related to each other as the rays to the flame. Here Śiva and Śakti may be expressed as

'I am' which is the essence of 'Cit'. *Śakti* is Śiva himself in his creative aspect. *Śakti* that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It is *Śakti* that polarises consciousness into *Aham* and *Idam* (I and this) subject and object. *Śakti* is not separate from Śiva but Śiva himself in his creative aspect.

We hope that this Encyclopaedia would be an assets for the scholars and readers of Hindu theoloy and philosophy. I am thankful to all those scholars whose works have been included in this publication.

Swami Parmeshwaranand

1

Image of Women in Virāśaivism

The term 'Virāśaivas' literally means 'brave Śaivas.' However, the religion followed by Virāśaivas is not merely a branch of Śaivism, but a protest movement against Hindu polytheism and its social organisation, in which Brahmanical superiority and the caste hierarchy held sway. Virasaivism believes in mono-theism, in the equality of all occupations, and in the permanent freedom of all Virāśaivas from pollution. The present day community in this part is called *Liṅgāyats* (wearers of *Liṅga* on their body).

There is a great deal of controversy about the founders, leaders, antiquity as well as the authoritative literature of Virāśaivism. My mention of this controversy is merely to refer to the existence of different sources of Virāśaiva religious literature and practices.

Dr. S.C. Nandimath (and others) concludes from the study of *Śaivagamas* that Virāśaivism is a much older religion than the one propounded by Basaveshwara and other 12th century *Śivasaranas*, his contemporaries. According to Dr. Nandimath, Virāśaivism was established by ancient teachers like Revanasiddhā and Marulasiddhā. This view has its basis also in the present day *Panchacharya mathas* (five head *Guru mathas*). These *mathas* are said to have been established by these teachers of Virāśaivism and so are named after them. These *Panchacharya mathas* have their subordinate *mathas* established in each town and attend to the day-to-day Virāśaiva rituals.

But neither these *mathas* nor the Virāśaiva Sanskrit texts project the improved image of the Virasaiva woman. It is the Vachana literature of the 12th century, written by Basaveshwara and other *Śivasaranas*, that projects it.

This Vachana literature provides the most dynamic and progressive side of Virasaiva philosophy and its rituals. The philosophical doctrine is based on reason and is action-oriented, while the rituals are simplified to the extreme and reduced in number. The importance given to *action* and *reason* in Virāśaivism can be seen in Chennabasavanna's following lines:

Action itself is knowledge, and
Knowledge is action; knowledge means
To understand; and action means
To act according as one understands

To think adultery to be wrong
Is knowledge; and action is
To act accordingly;
Not to do so, is ignorance,
Look you, Kudala Cenna Sangama Lord !

(1117 A.M.)

The Vachana literature contains the Vachanas of 200 to 300 Sivasaranas, of whom about 50-60 are women. Of the Vachanas, those of Prabhudeva, Basaveahwara and Akkamahadevi have attained the great mystical height as well as high poetic beauty. The Vachanas are generally poetic in form and self-explanatory in nature. They are autobiographical and confessional, and state the author's experiences including their doubts and failures. Though not systematically collected and edited by a central body, together they constitute a manual of Virāśaiva religion and practice. These Vachanas are regarded by many as the Kannada Upaniṣads. That is because, in the *Sunya Sampadane*, the Vachanas are arranged in a dialogue form. These dialogues project personal problems discussed by Saranas about the Self, God, Union, etc.

The basic Virāśaiva philosophy of 'Linganga-Samarasya' (consubstantial union with God) consists of three basic principles. These are 'Līṅga', 'Guru' and 'Jangama.' Here 'Līṅga' is the fundamental principle from which all life is born, wherein all life lives and wherein all life finally merges. This principle of 'Līṅga' is explained by comparing it to 'a sea', wherein all marine life is born, lives and merges:

In the vast deep ocean foam, ripples,
Bubbles, and foaming billows can be seen;
But are they things apart ?
In the ocean of Paraśiva,
Created universes are seen;
But are they worlds apart ?
I call them half-wits who say they are apart.
If you consider well,
They are Cennamalinga of Cimmalige Himself.

(S.S. Bhusanormath, 38)

This 'Līṅga' is in a symbolic form, worn on the body by every Virāśaiva, who is expected to worship it daily with ever-developing devotion, peace and enlightenment. Virāśaivas are known to others variously, for instance to Maharastrians, as 'Lingayats' and to Kannadigas as 'Lingavanta', because the Virāśaivas wear the 'Linga' on their person.

'Līṅga' is said to be experienced by Saranas as 'Jyoti' i.e. light or fire. This belief about the nature of Līṅga is extended to the day-to-day practices. As Līṅga wearers, Virasaivas are believed to be the 'purest', whom no pollutions do touch.

The second major principle of Virasaivism is 'Guru.' 'Guru' is the spiritual teacher

that guides a devotee's life both material and spiritual until his spiritual realisation. The Guru is the 'external Guru'; after self realisation a devotee has an 'internal Guru'; i.e. his own conscience. Here it is useful to note what Max Weber has said about 'Guru?' According to him, "the Guru carried the newcomer through the steps toward full membership, the eight sacraments (Astavarnas) which along gave the right of full membership. Obedience to the Gurus was strong in the Lingayat, stronger than in any other Indian sect, namely in rituals and ethics, including sexual ethics... Besides the usual drinking of water use to wash the holy man's feet, and similar hagiolatrous practices, the idea appeared here that the divine picture of a 'Guru' symbolised his superiority." These statements about 'Guru' refer not to the 'internal' but to the 'external' Guru to whom Virāśaivas are expected to show respect to cultivate humbleness.

The above explanation of 'Guru' is exemplified during the philosophical discussions of Basaveshwara, Akkanagamma and Chennabasavanna, a brother, his sister and her son respectively who address each other as their Guru to show their mutual respect:

The root of my birth's creeper was torn.
As I received Basavanna's Grace!
The screen before my mind withdrew,
Because I won Chennabasavanna's Grace!
Because in Lord Basavapriya Chennasanga,
Of my supreme Guru, Allamaprabhudeva.

(Akkanagamma, 165, S.V. Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Thus, the practices of *padodaka* and reverence of Guru in Virāśaivism are there, not to give superiority to a Guru but to cultivate humbleness in a devotee.

Even the principle of Guru does not stand independently in Virāśaivism. Guru is to be associated with 'Jangama', the third basic principle. Jangama means 'knowledge' gained not through intuition or mystic power, but through pure thought and action. Thus Guru, the guiding spirit of action has to be based in 'Jangama', the knowledge.

In Virāśaivism, no action is static and no 'saying' is accepted as sacrosanct. Actions, according to the Saranas, are viable in the light of growing knowledge and changing experience. So., the remark made by Weber about the bigotry of Virāśaivism is totally unfair and points to his referring to secondary sources rather than to the Vachanas, which give the basic principles of Virāśaivism.

This Virāśaiva doctrine of 'union' with the help of 'Guru', 'Linga' and 'Jangama' is known as *Sati-visit-advaita*, unlike the Sankaracharya's pure *Advaita*. For Sankaracharya, the world is 'Māyā', an illusion; whereas for Śivasaranas, it is 'real' and the only foundation on which the spiritual life could be built. The Saranas have supplied numerous guiding lines as to how one could enjoy all human basic appetites and feelings in a disciplined manner and in the spirit of service to God. This material life is described as 'Sopana', meaning a staircase, which one has to climb up step by step until one reaches the final stage of 'Linganga-Samarasya' (consubstantial union with God).

The attainment of 'Liganga-Samarasya' is possible only in this life. This final step is called 'Atkya' and the first as 'Bhakta', ■ the six-stage process.

Thus, according to the Virāśaiva philosophy, with few exceptions, the Virāśaiva must lead 'a married life' which is called 'a full life.' One must fulfill all family responsibilities and be a responsible member of the community. A Sarana says, "Illi salluawane alli sallutane", meaning, a person accepted in this material world and by his community will alone be accepted by God. Here one can quote the example of Basaveshwara himself, who lived happily with two wives and led a rich spiritual life at the same time.

Further, the material and economic life of a Virāśaiva is organised around the principle of 'Kāyaka.' The term 'Kayaka' literally means physical activity or occupation. But around this term the Virāśaiva Saranas have developed a philosophy, which was first introduced by Devara Dasimayya of the 11th century, and further developed by Basava and other Śivasaranas of his time.

The 'Kayaka' philosophy, to begin with, establishes a necessary correlation between physical activity and mental and spiritual exercise, 'a sound body and a sound mind.' Then it goes to insist on the equal status of all Kayakas, because Ling—wearers are touched by no impurities, even by vocations like shoe-making, washing other's clothes etc. On the ground of the equality of all-Kayakas, occupations, Virāśaivism sees no sense in the caste system.

It is not begging or mere 'Japatapa' and penances but Kayaka which is compulsory even for a Guru or an invalid. It is said by a Sarana that "even the gods have to do Kayaka when they come to visit Bhaktas." The ethical basis of 'Kayaka' is devotion, hard work and sincerity, while its spiritual aspect is use of additional gains for the service of Saranas and its final offering to God. Thus, through Kayaka one should be able to overcome one's pride or sense of 'my name, my caste, my work' etc. Thus, 'Kayaka' organises the physical, moral and spiritual activity of the Virāśaiva community.

This 'Kayaka' is praised by Saranas as an 'all-provider' and a help in controlling passions, like anger and greed, and gives them permanent peace. All the 200-300 Saranas of the 12th century carried on their independent 'Kayakas' in addition to writing *Vachanas*. To mention only a few, the 'Kayakas' of Vachankaras were as follows: Basava was ■ prime minister; Chaudayya, a boatman; Ammaveyya, a farmer; Satyakka, a sweeper. Akkamma and Neelambike ran a 'big house' feeding all visitors to Kalyana (Bidar District) who came to meet the Saranas. The Saranas of the 12th century had established an 'Anubhava Manthapa' (the Assembly Hall of Experience) where the Sarana debated the highest spiritual problems.

Though there is no well articulated 'Achara' philosophy or code of conduct in the form of given commandments, the Saranas provided the lead for the codes of conduct through their *Vachanas*, through the 'Kayaka' philosophy, and through the doctrine of Satstala. I have referred to the Saranas' lives as the guiding code of conduct, this is because they are all supposed to have lived a married life, even as Saranas. A Sarana is supposed to have come up, smiling and shining: "as a lotus comes up from the lake which

is full of mud." Most of the Saranas performed not merely "intellectual occupations", but menial jobs. In addition to what they propagated through the Vachanas, the Saranas prescribed 'Shistachara', customs established by earlier saints and finally, one's own conscience.

In addition to 'Kayaka' and 'Shistachara', there are eight 'aids' in the Virasaiva faith, known as 'Astavarnas' meaning 'eight coverings' for, or emblems of, a Virasaiva devotee. There are *Guru, Linga, Jangama, Vibhuti, Rudraksi, Padodaka, Prasada*, and *Sivamantra*. They are not sacraments as described by Ethoven. There are also the five codes of conduct known as 'Panchachara' regarding the use of 'Astavarnas.' These codes of conduct are known as 'Sivachara', 'Ganachara', 'Lingachara', 'Sadachara' and 'Brityachara', meaning that a Virasaiva must do his daily Linga-pooja, utter the Sivamantra, serve and Saranas, observe good conduct, and defend one's religion. In addition to these, emphasis is laid on the observance of vows (*vratas*), regulations (*niyama*) and moral precepts (*Śīla*). In Virasaivism there are sixty-four *shilas*. Thus, for a Virasaiva this life of 'Kayaka' is regulated by the Astavarna, Panchachara, vows, regulations and precepts of moral conduct. Such a Virasaiva *Bhakta*, guided in every possible activity of his day-to-day life, is further directed towards spiritual union through the discipline and direction of the 'Satstala', described by Dr. Nandimath as the "pilgrim's progress."

To conclude, one could call Virasaivism a highly rationalistic religion with no place for magic, superstition or static doctrines. And, as its positive attainment, it has woven the material and the spiritual life into a garland making 'union' or 'Linganga-Samarasya' (which is possible even in this life) as its central ornament.

Owing to lack of historical material, we are at a loss to substantiate the extent of its effect on the existing socio-economic life of Virasaivas. This is partly because of general lack of a historical sense in India, and partly because a large number of Saranas were massacred by the Bijjala, the 12th century Jain king of Kalyana, on account of their growing popularity. Even Basava, the torchbearer, had to resort to *samadhi* (religious death) at the young age of 31. A keen reader of the Virasaiva Vachanas will neither accept Max Weber's thesis about all-Indian religions, nor reject it. According to Weber, "Indian religions, among many other factors, may have prevented capitalistic development in India."

Among the many Virasaiva reforms, something that can be seen to this day is the improved image of Virasaiva women. And this can be seen, not in philosophical doctrines, but in everyday life, in the religious, social, economic and family life.

If one has to know the 'real' image of a woman in any religion, one should go to its rituals, wherein precepts and practices meet in a unique way. The first and the most important of the Virasaiva rituals is 'Lingadharana', bestowal of a consecrated Linga (symbol of Śiva) by a Guru to a newly born Virasaiva child. 'Lingadharana' is done on both male and female children alike. This ritual is believed to be essential to bring a new-born child into the Virasaiva fold.

During this ritual, after tying the 'Linga' around the neck of the new-born child, the Guru utters 'Namas-Śaivaya', the *panchaksara mantra*, into the child's ears gives *astavarnas*

to the parents, which are to be given to the child later. The Guru is worshipped by the parents on behalf of the infant. Then the Guru bids the parents to bring up the child according to Virāśaiva 'Vrata', 'Niyama' and 'Sila.' This 'Linga', which is believed to be 'fire' is itself, is believed to burn all the impurities of its wearers. So, Basava says that Virāśaivas are in a permanent state of purity, and the purest of all beings.

The 'Lingadharana' shows that Virāśaivism does not give any specific place to sons as against daughters. The Hindu belief that the birth of a son alone can redeem the father from rebirth and opens the doors of 'Moksa' is totally absent in Virāśaivism.

Another ritual of a similar type was developed a little later. This consists of 'Ayyachara', 'Jangama diksa' (a rite to turn Jangama caste boys into priests) and is performed by celibate Jangamas called Gurus on Jangama boys. This rite is similar to the thread ceremony of a Brāhmin boy. Only after 'Jangama diksa' does a Jangama boy become eligible to perform priestly functions for the community and could also be chosen, if necessary, to head a Virāśaiva *matha*.

'Jangama-diksa' is not performed on Jangama girls. This only shows that Jangama girls can neither conduct priestly functions nor be the head of a Virāśaiva *matha*. But all girls, Jangamas and non-Jangamas, are given the right to study religious literature. Similarly, they are allowed to meditate and practice Yoga; for example, Basava's wife, Neelambika, was said to be well versed in Sanskrit and Kannada religious literature. In addition, women were allowed to expound both philosophy and religion to popular audiences. There are examples of 12th century as well as modern women who have been 'Kirtankaras', or religious story-tellers. There are many practising 'Śivasaraneyaru' (yoginies) even today, to whom not only the common folk show reverence but even *panchacharyas* offer *sastanga namaskaras*. Thus, women may not perform priestly functions, but can become Gurus. Sajjanguda Amma and Sholapur Saranamma are such spiritual Gurus revered by the entire Virāśaiva community. Also a 'self-proclaimed' Mate Mahadevi has a large following of both converted and non-converted Virāśaivas.

There is a third and a peculiar kind of initiation, called 'Dikṣa', which is performed on both men and women for three main reasons. The first and the most important function of this Dikṣa is to spiritually upgrade a Virāśaiva man or woman. A celibate *matha* head who conducts this ritual is called a "Mokṣa Guru." Only devout Virāśaiva men and women undergo this ritual and they strictly follow the Virāśaiva Panchacharas and Satastalas alongwith Astavaranas. Opinions differ whether this ritual is compulsory for "Linganga-Samarasya", or "Mokṣa", for every Virāśaiva. But there is no doubt that many desire to undergo this ritual, and it is performed on a large scale when a very important *matha* head decides to conduct it.

Secondly, this *Dikṣa* is performed also to upgrade the lower subcaste of either of the spouses when such inter-subcaste marriages are performed. this ritual is more often practised on a girl than on a boy, and ■ more prevalent in Northern Karnataka and Maharashtra than in South Karnataka. In South Karnataka, Virāśaivas are said to have regular inter-subcaste marriages, with no problems of higher and lower status for either of the spouses. In North Karnataka, however, marriage of a 'Jangama' girl with a 'non-

Jangama' boy is taboo and is considered as a 'pratiloma' form of marriage. This indicates that rigidity in the case of marriage in Virasaivism is locally influenced phenomenon.

Thirdly, this *Dikṣa* is also performed on non-Virasaivas converting to Virasaivism. This ritual is conducted by an important celibate *matha* head, when a consecrated Liṅga is given to the converts along with other "astavarnas", and they are made to vow that they will follow Virasaiva Panchacharas and Satstalas. Further, converts are never to touch meat and wine again. That all these *Deksas* are equally performed on Virasaiva men and women points clearly to their equal socio-religious rights. This *Dikṣa* also goes counter to Max Weber's statement that all Hindu sects have members only by birth. After initiation, every Virasaiva is expected to follow five codes of conduct; the Panchacharas are to be followed in all stages and spheres of life. Amongst the Panchacharas, "Lingachara", or daily worship of Liṅga, is the first and the most important Achara. Every child, once come to a reasonable age, has to do Liṅga-Pooja, uttering the simple *Panchaksari mantra* "Namas-Sivaya", with devout concentration. Here it is necessary to emphasize Basava's insistence on the simplification of rituals, and the personal worship of God through Liṅga-pooja. Thus, Basava, almost cynically, criticises a priest' (or Brāhmin's conducting rites or worship as follows:

Indulging in love, eating one's food,
Is that ever done by a deputy?
Oneself one ought to do all Liṅga's rites.
It's never done by a deputy.

(69 A.M. & S.M.A.)

Lakkamma, a 12th century woman saint, while describing the importance of Liṅga-pooja says:

This Liṅga-pooja itself is Heaven.

Similarly, Neelambika, Basaveshwara's wife, is known for her great devotion and concentration while doing her Liṅga-pooja. That is why she is always referred to in Virasaiva literature as "Nijabhakti Neelambike." Similarly, she is pictured only in the "Yogic pose", worshipping her Liṅga. Thus, Virasaivism has not only given women all initiation rights, but its women have enjoyed and graced this Lingachara to the greatest possible extent.

In this connection, it is extremely important to highlight another Virasaiva reform for women. It is the removal of the *Panchasutakas*, the five pollutions, from women. The Hindu *Panchasutakas*, the basic means of segregating women in Hinduism include her menstrual periods, the period of 10-12 days after childbirth, and permanently, after she becomes a widow. A Hindu woman, specially one belonging to a high caste, is kept firmly out of all socio-religious life during these times. In addition, a widowed woman is considered as inauspicious and a general source of misery.

But Virasaivism argues that Virasaivas, as wearers of 'Liṅga' (which burns all their impurities), are forever pure. This is true for both men and women. By the act of

'Līṅga-Dharana', Virasaivism removes all the impurities attached to their women-folk too. As a matter of fact, Virasaivism not only removes these 'exile periods' for women arising from pollutions, but gives them full freedom, to do their regular 'Līṅga-pooja' and all other socio-religious ceremonies at all times without reservations. Among these reforms, of the greatest significance ■ that of removing the widowhood pollution, which has an immediate social relevance. Virśaiva widows have as many socio-religious rights as a widower has. For instances, a widow can attend all religious functions and also re-marry just as a widower can. During the ritual bath of a marrying couple, a widowed mother is called 'mother earth' and is given a place of honour instead of treating her as an inauspicious person. Only certain orthodox *mathas*, like the Ujjaini *matha* and in Northern Karnataka re-marriage is not favoured for Jangama widows. But there is nowhere a religious taboo. Thus, the steps taken during the 12th century to remove these pollutions and give women full socio-religious rights were revolutionary Virśaiva reforms.

Virśaiva girls have some additional rituals not open to Virśaiva boys. These are puberty rites. When a girl attain puberty, she is first time offered 'arati' (auspicious lights), fruits and sweet dishes by the family and the community. For married girls, it is an elaborate ceremony lasting four or five days. During this ceremony, she gets presents and fruits from her husband's relations and many songs for female fertility and a happy married life are sung. These special rituals amongst Virśaivas show that a girl's menstruation is accepted not only as a natural but as an auspicious occasion. And these ceremonies in general help Virśaiva girls to develop a positive and a healthy attitude towards marriage and sexual life.

Next in importance in the life of a Virśaiva girl is the ritual of marriage. Virśaiva marriage is called 'Lagna Samadham', an auspicious union, suggesting equality of the marriage partners. Virśaiva marriage has neither 'laja home' nor *saptapadi*, the essential Hindu rites in marriage.

The main marriage rite in Virśaivism is the establishment of five 'kalasas', water-pots, representing the five founder Gurus. There is a joint 'līṅga-pooja, and 'kalasa pooja' done by the marrying couple as directed by the officiating Jangama. And the couple is blessed and graced by the parents, the Gurus and the community.

There is no necessity to look for 'muhurta', an auspicious time, for a Virśaiva marriage. Because Basava says that at an auspicious act everything inevitably turns out auspicious. Marriage is considered compulsory, not for giving birth to a male child, but for the proper satisfaction of human instincts, and religiously, only married life is said to be a full life. These marriage innovations have had a far-reaching influence on the Virśaiva social structure and helped women to lead a more independent as well as a fuller life.

Some rites later added to marriage are 'Suraginēeru', ■ ritual bath wherein the bride and the bridegroom are bathed alongwith their mothers; Muttaiḍi Pooja', where five married women are worshipped; Toli kattodu', where the husband ties the 'Mangalsutra' around the brides neck in the presence of Jangama.

Marriages are arranged by the parents, but the consent of the marrying parties is taken. A noteworthy reform in this regard is prohibition of child marriage; while easy divorce is possible for either party only for misconduct. Similarly, a majority of inter-kin marriages (that is, between uncle and niece and between cross-cousins) reduce the incidence of dowry and ill-treatment of the newly-wed bride. On the contrary, the girls are not taken to be 'seen' by the would be groom but it is the groom and his party that have to come to the girl's house for this purpose, this practice helps to maintain the superior status of the girl.

Polygamy was once prevalent among economically well-off sections of Virāṣaivas for prestige. But for the religious reason of taking a second wife when the first wife has had no male child, is never accepted in Virāṣaivism. As a matter of fact, the birth of a male or a female child is a matter of equal rejoicing among Virāṣaivas.

An attitude to be noticed is that, marriage is not considered a hindrance to spiritual life, but rather a necessity for 'a full life.' In fact, most of the 12th century saints were happily married. And when anybody commented on the many distractions of women for a saintly life, Akamahadevi proclaimed in unequivocal terms:

To an ascetic, Māyā takes the shape
Of a female ascetic; to a monk
She is a nun, a man
To a woman a woman to a man
O Chenna Mallikarjuna, I am not
One to fear this Māyā of thine.

(*Akkamahadevi*, III 145, A.M. & S.M.A.)

As long as woman is woman, then
A man defiles her;
As long as a man is man,
A woman defiles him.
When the mind's taint is gone, is there, good Sir,
Room for the body's taint?
The entire world is made
Because of this adventitious taint.
Look you, good sir,
For the great spouse
Called Chenna Mallikarjuna, my Lord,
The whole world is a wife.

(*Akkamahadevi*, III 151, A.M. & S.M.A.)

Such is the equalitarian image of a Virāṣaiva woman, in both spiritual and secular matters. And since the Virāṣaiva Saranas believed this world to be real, they have spoken abundantly on the ideal marital relations out of their personal experiences. They have

never considered the husband as the lord and the wife as an incarnation of passion and lust, as seen by Manu. On the other hand she is given a place of respect depending on her merits. For instance, Basava refers to Neelambike as his 'Muktyangine', the partner who helps him in attaining 'Linganga-samarasya', or *Mokṣa*.

As a matter of fact, Virāśaivism has found the most essential harmonious relations in married life. According to it, the real happiness of a married couple lies in mutual understanding and respect and in being each other's mentor and not in one being the other's servant. In a Vachana, Prabhudeva has given ample praise to Lakkamma and Marayya as a model of husband-wife relations, and described them as a prototype of the 'satipati-bhava.'

Lakkamma and Marayya were great devotees of Śiva and led a full life as Śivasaranas. A story goes that, on one occasion, when Marayya, brought more rice than required for their daily use, Lakkamma expostulated:

Beyond one measure you have brought
Two: can this mind be yours,
Or Basavanna's sceptical brain?
Marayya-priya Amareswaralinga!
Go, drop it where it was and come,
Marayya.

(*Lakkamma*, 5.3, Vol. XII, IV. 22)

If work and generosity, you think,
Take you to Heaven,
Is Heaven a worker's wage?
If with no thought
Of what no thought
Of what is coming or gone?
You stay engrossed in what you do,
Then Heaven ■ where
Marayyapriya Amareswaralinga is.

(*Lakkamma*, S.S. Vol. XIII, IV. 25)

Mahadevimma, wife of a Kashmiri king, used to admonish her husband, "Don't be too proud of your sacrifice in giving up your kingdom for the vocation of collecting firewood and be a Śivasarana." Thus, according to Virāśaivas, neither the wife nor the husband is superior to the other; the only superior being is the Lord Himself. Thus, Satyakka, another "realised" woman saint, says, "My Shambhujeaswara alone is the husband in the world of saints." This is not an abstract concept of man's and God's interrelations among Virāśaivas; for many of them have actually lived up to these ideals. In most poetic and sublime fashion, Akkamahadevi describes her wedding with her "Lord":

Guru was kinsman to officiate; Liṅga the bridegroom, I the bride;
 This all the world to know; my father and my mother were
 The innumerable saints, Behold, they have me to a groom
 Becoming Prabhu' house. Therefore, Chenna Mallikarjuna is my Lord:
 No other husbands in the world are aught to me Chenna Mallikarjuna
 (Akanahadevi, IV, 16, 14 S.S.)

These marriage rituals and rites point to the perfect equality given by Virāśaivism to man and woman in their marital life. Further, to call a husband Lord is merely to show that Virāśaives do not think of God as mere protector, as Mother or Father. In such a relationship of man with God, Virāśaivism shows its greater emphasis on being united with God: 'Liṅganga-samarasya, as a husband and wife are.'

Very few religions have prescribed equal taboos for wife and husband. In this respect, Hinduism is known for double standards in every field. But that is not so in Virāśaivism. Along with equal rights, similar taboos are imposed on husband and wife. So, in one context, Basava says:

The lotus lends the water grace,
 And billows to the sea:
 A woman's virtue is her grace,
 The sky's the moon...
 (30, A.M.)

Thus, a virtuous wife a Heaven to Basava, while a faithless wife is worse than the torments of hell. Thus he says:

One still can stand where burnt the hearth;
 But could one stand where burnt the earth?
 When the bank, thirsty, drinks the streams
 And the fence turns to graze,
 The wife at home to thievish ways
 And mother's milk to poisonous cream-
 And all seems part of a crazy dream—
 To whom should I complain, O Lord?
 (28, 99 A.M.)

If such is the image of a wife, an equally high standard is expected from a husband. He is expected to treat his wife with kindness, respect and affection. Basava says: "Men are not superior to women and the gentle sex must be treated with respect and delicacy. Otherwise, woman's life is also a hell."

Basava says:
Should the king rage,
You must depart His kingdom:
Should a husband rage,
The wife must leave...

(824 D.H.)

Thus, mutual love and guidance are the bases of a happy family. Neither man nor woman is allowed to violate marital fidelity. Actually, this is considered as the most heinous sin in the world.

Basava says:
I have no fear of streaking snake,
Nor point of sword, nor tongue of flame;
There's one thing makes my whole heart shake.
I tremble at the hazardous game
Another's wife or wealth may make !
In days of old, Ravana's knell was bold
But soon Ravana's knell was tolled
Only to think, my heart grows cold.
O Kudala Sangama Lord.

(Basava, 446 Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Similarly, of a faithless wife he says that her nose should be cut out. Owing to this complete equalitarian treatment meted out to woman alongwith man, in the marital sphere woman's image in Virasaivism is really enviable. Though Basava did not approve of too many rituals for Virasaivas, Virasaiva men and women, living as they do in land where festivals and rituals are a part and parcel of life, do perform a variety of rituals, like the naming ceremony of children, the house-warming ceremony while "Sampata Shurawar Pooja" and such others are performed only by women and enjoyed among themselves. Further, alongwith other rituals, Virasaiva woman celebrate 'pregnancy ceremonies' and all the other Hindu rituals associated with family or Grihastha life, without being subject to any disabilities and segregations like those of a Hindu woman.

Regarding the economic aspects of family life, Basava was against hoarding and inheritance of property viewing these as unnecessary and evil. He says:

As though you would live for ever and not die,
You hoard your wealth. But should life end,
Death should come, there would be none to enjoy your wealth !
Do not hoard wealth, burrowing the earth !
...You think, you leave it to your wife.

The moment that your body drops, surely she
Weds another man. Do not give 'for others'
Use and prove a big silly sheep,
If it should be spent, spent it at once
For Kudala Sangama's Saranas.

(72. A.M.)

In general sub-castes included in the Liṅgayat community follow the Hindu law of inheritance and succession. But additional benefit is enjoyed by Liṅgayat women, of inheriting their mother's property, either gold, land or money. In a majority of cases, mothers with no male child do not adopt but transfer their property to their daughters. Because of these close marital practices, Viraśaiva families are mother-centred. So, most of the 'give and take', the exchange of gifts, is either completely done by a woman, or she is at least consulted in the matter, says Dr. D.A. Chekki. Her traditional connection with both her parental families and her maternal uncle is still so close that she does not claim the benefits given to her by the laws of inheritance under the 1955-56 Hindu Code.

If we look at her image purely in the religious field, the Viraśaiva woman is given the right to be a devotee (Bhakta), to follow the 'six stages', and attain union with God (Liṅganga-Samarasya). This right does not come to her from her previous life's activities, nor is it given to her only if she gives birth to a male child. Even while leading a married life and doing her household duties, provided she does them with devotion and understanding, she can attain the highest stage of spiritual union.

It is a matter of pride that this right has not just remained in the Viraśaiva religious texts, but has been enjoyed by great Viraśaiva women saints—both married and unmarried. Akkamahadevi, amongst the Viraśaiva saints, was such a towering personality that she stands as an every-inspiring example to Viraśaiva women. For instance, even today, whether it is a women's club or a revolutionary women's party, they try to achieve her spiritual stature.

Akkamahadevi is regarded by some saints as the greatest Viraśaiva saint of the 12th century amongst both men and women. So historians, says "Akkamahadevi, a unique representative of the fair sex, exemplified the supremacy of true devotion and demonstrated the purity of womanhood in the realm of religion. No miracles are attached to her (even in mythologies), but she is more highly respected than any other Viraśaiva saint." Similarly, Allamaprabhu, the spearheading Guru of the 12th Century Viraśaiva saints, explains Akkamahadevi's spiritual attainments as follows:

Shedding her corporeal traits,
She has become
United with Liṅga...
She has become
Herself the Supreme light,
I say hail to the majesty

Of Mahadeviyakka, who has,
Shedding the sense of self and other
Become one with the Linga itself,
In Guheswara Linga.

(*Prabhudeva*, S.S. Vol. IV, XVI, 58)

Surprisingly, Akkamahadevi is not the only rare example of women saints, because there were quite a number of practising *yoginis* who came close to her. They are Satyakka, Muktayakka, Neelambika, Mahadeviyamma, Lakkamma and others. To quote their Vachanas would be an effective proof of this. Satyakka says:

"Thinking He is outside, I mindlessly spoke;
Coming without my knowledge, He is in me !
The integral Unborn one
Is not accessible to words.
Mother, I've been bewildered by His void:
What do I do, O mother ? If I forget,
The husband without a form shall wake me up.
For if you know him, He is good,
Our Sambujakeswara."

(*Satyakka*, 148, S.S. Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Neelambika, wife of Basava, sends back Basava's messengers saying, "I need not come to Kuppudi Sangama to attain Lingaikya. I can attain it here as well. It is surprising that Basava does not know even that much." In this connection, a question put by Goggavve about the equality of man and woman is worth quoting:

They call one woman if one have
Breasts and a braid;
They call one man if one possess
Moustaches and loin-cloth.
Is knowledge of these twain
Male or Female,
O Nastinatha ?

(*Goggavve*, 190, p. 369, S.V. Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Similarly, Akkamahadevi is almost telling Basava, in a challenging spirit, of how she has conquered Śiva and yet with matured humility:

I won over my passions by thy
Grace Basavanna. I caught hold of

Siva by the Grace. I am a woman
In name and male in spirit.
If you properly understand

(*Akkamahadevi*, S.S. Vol. III, Chat. 16.44)

Muktayakka puts a very bold question while answering Prabhudeva:

If you would know my name
What answer shall I find ?
This body of flesh means nought to me,
Nor is there nonsense in my mind,
And, if you ask me, no name !
What shall I say, O brother ?
What witless fool am I,
Owing no father or mother:
Younger sister I am to Ajaganna,
Who his mortal intellect has
Forgone, to be a shining light—beyond all bounds.

(*Muktayakka*, S.S. Vol. I. II. 6)

Further, a poem from Liṅgamma is still more important because she comes from a low caste, with no tradition of spiritual attainment behind her. Here she says:

Among the lowest was I born,
Among the highest did I grow,
And held the feet of real Saranaas;
And holding them, I saw
Guru and Liṅga and Jangama,
Prasāda and Padodaka,
Since I have seen all these,
The darkness before my eyes cleared up:
As soon as that cleared up,
I revelled in the splendid light
Of the auspicious one
And won my happiness,
O Allamapriya Chennabasavanna !

(*Liṅgamma*, 64, p. 254 S.S. Trans. (A.M. & S.M.A.)

Similarly, Akkanagamma says:

The root of my birth's creeper was torn
As I receive Basavanna's gift !

The screen before my mind withdrew
 Because I won Chennabasavanna's grace;
 My heart's raving doubts have quit
 Because in Lord Basavapriya Cennasanga,
 I found the holy feet
 Of my supreme Guru Allamaprabhudeva.

(*Akkanaganima*, 165, S.S. Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Thus, looking at these examples of Virasaiva women saints, their attainments and experiences on the highest level of religious experience, any woman could be proud to be a Virasaiva woman. But the wisdom of Virasaiva saints does not end here. For, if they have given woman the highest religious rights, so have they expected important religious obligations from her. She is also equally to follow "Lingachara" (Rules of Linga-pooja), 'Sadachara', 'Śhivachara', 'Ganachara', and 'Brithayachara'. Among these 'acharas', very few religions have expected the function of *religious defence* from women. But Virasaivism does it. Thus it is said in the Prabhulingalile that women have participated in the worship of 'Śhivalinga', 'Dasoha' (serving food), philosophical discussions, missionary work, and also worked with equal enthusiasm and courage to defend Virasaivism. In this connection, Rekkamma's Vachana is very illuminating. According to her 'Ganachara' is mainly to fight against injustice by a variety of means. She says:

If you behold one who has turned his back
 On Linga, or fallen from Discipline,
 Or failed his vows, or killed
 Guru, or Linga or Jangama, or scoffed
 At Padodaka and Prasad, and made little of
 The sacred ash and Rudrakṣi beads,
 You must destroy him if you are strong;
 But if you are not, you must shut
 Your eyes and ears and tell
 The Śiva-mantra. If you can't do this much,
 You ought to leave the place; or else,
 Sri Gurusiddhesvara shall cast you
 Into profoundest hell of hells.

(*Rekkamma*, 204 p. 386 S.S. Trans. A.M. & S.M.A.)

Along with these women defenders of the faith, we have glowing examples of political defenders in as recent a period as the 16th and 19th centuries. For instance, Mallamma gave shelter to Shivaji at a most difficult time; while Kittur Chennamma, in 1814, was the first Virasaiva Indian widow to fight valiantly against the British. And even when she was defeated and put in jail, she prayed for the freedom of Kittur and spent the rest of her life in jail as a Shivasarani. Thus, even in the political sphere, owing to their high

socio-religious rights. Virāśaiva women have provided shining examples of courage and social awareness.

In the 20th century, Virāśaiva women still continue to be yoginis and socio-religious workers, such as Sholapur Shranamma, Jayadevital Ligade and many others. They still uphold the high image given by the 12th century reformers. Regarding the wider social life, the contributions of Virāśaiva women to academic literature, novels and fine arts is not inconsiderable. Dr. Sarojini Mahishi's thesis, "Karnatakada Kaviyatriyaru" is an illustrious document on many Virāśaiva women poets. We shall compare the ideal historical image of Virāśaiva woman as found in the Vachanas of the 12th century with the present-day Virāśaiva woman's image in religious and secular life, in order to understand the continuing impact of Virāśaivism on the status of woman.

2

The Irupāvirupatu

Besides the *Cittiyār* Arulnanti wrote the *Irupāvirupatu* about A.D. 1254 (*Calivāhana Cahāptam* 1176). The title indicates ■ species of poetic composition in which the *venpā* and *akaval* metres alternate for twenty verses. Although the work as a whole is a eulogy on Meykaṇṭa Tevar, whom Arulnanti had as guru, it expounds some of the main themes of the *Saiva siddhānta* and, specifically, the mysticism of divine immanence. Namacciāyāt Tampirān of Tiruvāvaṭuturai Mutt wrote a (Tamil) Commentary on it, and this was published in the *Meykaṇṭa Cāttiram*.

The Doctrine: Immanence

The chief theme of the *Irupāvirupatu* is God's immanence in all its diverse manifestations, leading up to the mystical experience of his presence in the final union with him. Arulnanti again and again teaches us how God is actively present in souls, and how his immanence becomes ever more intimate in the different states of the soul. Finally, in the mystical state, the soul is 'oned' with God in such a way that God is said to be more intimate than the intimate self, and is possessed by the self more really and deeply than in the state of bondage, since in the mystical state it realises God intuitively and with intense love.

The Ontological Immanence

By the ontological immanence the Siddhāntin understands in the presence in every soul of God's power (*cattī*), on which the soul's activity and change radically depend as on the instrumental cause. This divine immanence is a permanent state of inseparability from the soul (*enatu ulam nīkā nilaimai*, 2. 5-6). Again, it is not something static in the sense that God is passively present in the soul as a sort of ornament. God operates in the soul and co-operates in its every activity through his *aruḷcattī*. Like the other *Saiva Siddhānta* Śāstras the *Irupāvirupatu* clearly teaches that God's purpose, through his presence and activity, is to save every soul from the bondage of the threefold impurity (*mākkal malain akarrum*, 1.2). God conducts the soul according to his ways (*tan valic celutti*, 4. 12) and the

soul has no ways of its own (*en valiy enpatu onru inrām*, 4. 13). If God operates constantly and guides souls safely to the supreme goal of deliverance, how is it that impurity affects them and leads them in the opposite direction, away from God? Firstly, God makes use of the impurity of *kāma* and *māyā* for his own purpose of release, since both of these impurities awaken the soul from its purely static, passive, dormant, and solitary state (*kēvala*) of complete darkness, due to *āṇavam*. Secondly, the triple impurity does not belong to the nature of the soul as such, for if it did, it could never leave it (*iyaip-enil pōkātu*, 4. 27); it only sticks to it as does the husk to the paddy grain.

Arulnanti brings another objection against the divine Immanence, and answers it as follows. How can both *āṇavam*, the power of darkness, and *catti*, the power of God, coexist without God's being affected, and how then can God be really pure (*cutan*), stainless (*amalan*), the Lord of Light (*cōli nāyakam*), transcendent, the Being above all things (*param-param*) (2. 10-11)? If one were to say, in order to escape the difficulty, that God, transcendent and separate from the soul, helps it (*vēru ninru unarttin*), then he would not be all-pervasive (*viyāpakam inrāy*) and immanent; besides, he could not be realised immanently in the mystical state (*emakkar pērum inrām*) (2. 12-13). Arulnanti replies that God is inseparably united with the soul as its very soul (*uyirukāyirāy*), with the intelligence as its intelligence (*arivukkarivāy*), and that inseparability does not mean identity. Only in the latter case, i.e. of identity, would the Supreme Being become affected by the imperfections and the divine Immanence be in jeopardy (12). The best examples to illustrate such union are soul and body in man; eye and sunlight in sight; and the intelligence and the light of the eye in empirical knowledge (*ibid*).

The psychological immanence By the psychological Immanence the Siddhāntin understands that God in various ways discloses himself to the soul and reveals the nature of his ontological Immanence, so that the soul, purged of its ignorance and misery, realises intuitively the divine presence and operation. There are varying degrees of God's self-disclosure.

The divine immanence in the state of bondage (*petta nilai*) is described vividly to show how the life of *bhakti*, thanks to the divine illumination through grace, gradually emerges and develops into mystical realisation of the divine Immanence. When the soul, under the power of *āṇavam*, leads a 'blind' life, thinking that it is the Lord of the world (*ñālan kāvalan yān enak koṭi*, 18.2), and that what is untrue (i.e. unreal) is the truth (the real) (*poyyai mey enru pukanru*, 18. 3), thus identifying the unreal and the impermanent with the real and the permanent, God remains in the soul, hidden (*emut karmtu*, 18. 5) from its consciousness. Ignorant of the true nature of itself and of God, the soul acts as if it were the sole agent, attributes everything to its own power, and becomes so self-centred that all values are judged according to the norm of 'mineness' (*ennaiyum lannaiyum arivoinru iyarrum ennatu yān enum akantai kaṇṭu*, 18. 67). Thus it fails to knowledge its dependence on, and continual indebtedness to, God.

But God on his part does not abandon the soul, even when it is forgetful of him, because he cohabits with it and operates within all its wanderings and experience of the world (*yāvar yāvaiyu yānkanu cenru...*, *mikka pōkam vittiyāl vilaitu*, 18. 8-10). He is inseparably one with it (*enaip piriyaṭu*) (18. 11).

Not content with this hidden immanence, God reveal himself in many ways, once the soul shows signs of *bhakti*. He manifests himself not only in symbols and images but also in the form of a Guru, who instructs the soul and initiates it into the Śaivite path of liberation (20). But all these are exterior manifestations of his immanence. As we are taught time and again in all the *Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras*, God's immanence is nothing but the presence of his *aruḷcaṭṭi* in souls, first hidden and then manifest. At this stage the soul does come to know that its activity really hinges on God's power, but such knowledge only paves the way for that higher knowledge which alone liberates the soul from its radical impurity of *āṇavam*.

The Mystical Experience of the Divine Immanence Aruḷnanti describes the higher realisation of divine immanence in significant terms. Out of the abundance of his love (*aruḷ miḱa uṭaimaiyin*), God favours the soul with a precious treasure, the experience of immanence grace (*poruḷ miḱa aruḷtalum*). He dispels untruth, the soul's enemy (*poyp-pakai āḷalum*) (18. 15), focusses the soul to his presence (*tān mun āḱi*) (18. 18), so that he and his grace may shine in the place of the soul's 'ego' (*tannatum tānumāy ennai inrākki*, 18. 19), and grants the gift of himself (*tannaiyum . . . tantu*, 18. 20).

Since God illumines the soul, as described above, the soul acquires the divine wisdom and intuits the true nature of the three fundamental realities, namely bondage, the soul, and God's immanence. They are not successive insights, but three aspects of the divine wisdom (*civaiḷānam*) itself experienced by the soul. We may call this wisdom a 'cluster of insights', if this expression borrowed from contemporary epistemologists is though suitable to convey the idea; that is to say, an insight into a reality is not exclusive of others related to it intimately, but with them may give a comprehensive view of the relations that enter into the making of a single vision of the reality. An insight into the true nature of God's immanence implies as well an insight into the real essence of the soul, and an insight into that of the bondage with which the soul previously associated and from which it emerges now purified and released.

By the vision of bondages Aruḷnanti wishes to teach that in the presence of grace (*aruḷmun*) the bondage which results from *āṇavam* (as the principle of darkness, *iruḷ*) is dispelled, and that the freed soul gets to know this state of freedom (5). The commentator rightly interprets the text by stating that when the soul realises Śiva, it also realises that so far it has been unreleased because of bondage (Comm. on 5).

By the vision of the soul the *bhakta* gains the knowledge that his real nature is to be united not with impurity but with God; that he depends on God's power for his activity; that God is immanente in his soul, illumining and helping his intelligence to know (*ennuḷam velic ceytu*, 6. 2-3); and that because God reveals himself (*un aḷavil kāṭci kāṭṭi*), it was able to know its own nature (*en kāṭṭinai*) (6. 3-4).

By the vision of God the *bhakta* becomes deeply aware of God's immanence in as far as he realises his dependence on, and union, with, God. Aruḷnanti emphatically denies that this experience is the same as that of the *advaita*. He states that if the mystic were to say 'I am Brahman', then he would not hold God to be his creator, his Lord (*yānē piraman*,

kōṇē vēṇṭā, 8. 17). The mystical experience of God's immanence is not of such a nature that the soul and God become identified and lose each his individuality; and the divine immanence is not intuited in such a way as to obliterate the divine transcendence. Arulnanti even explicitly introduces the idea of distinction in the mystical union, as he investigates more precisely the nature of this experience. It would not be true knowledge of God, he says, if God and the soul were to stand apart (*ninnin nuṁnam enraṇ uṇarvīlan*); if the soul were to know only itself (*ennaik kōṇpinuri kōṇpu ala*) (8. 18-19), for such a knowledge would be empirical; if the soul were to know God in an objective manner, opposing the knower to the known (*uṁmaik kōṇpinuṁi kōṇpu ala* 8. 21), for such a knowledge again would be imperfect and empirical; or, finally, if the soul were to know God through its own total submergence (*uṁṁṁṁ oruṁku kōṇpinuṁi kōṇpu ala*) for that would not be the conscious union between the two.

The conclusion is obvious: the soul in union with God through his immanent grace knows God and itself (8). The union is conceived of as an entry of God into the soul (*naṇṇi uṇṇi pukuntu*, 6. 2), as an illumination of his grace in the soul (*en uṇṇam vēlic ceytu*, 6. 2-3), and as his gift (*tamaiyum lantu*, 18, 20). From the soul's point of view it is conscious possession of God, realisation of his immanence, and acknowledgement of its dependence on him. The distinction between the stage of bondage and that of freedom from it, for Arulnanti, consists precisely in this, that the soul in bondage acts and lives in an egoistic spirit, and valorises everything in terms of 'I' and 'mine' (*akantai kōṇṇu*, 18. 7), whereas in the mystical state it leads a God-centred life. In this context the commentator makes a profound annotation which characterises the type of mysticism that the siddhāntin considers conducive to liberation:

The egotism or self-centredness consists in doing everything in the spirit of 'I' and 'mine', not realising that I am the servant (of God) and that he (God) is the Lord.

It is evident that the spirit of service, or the sense of being a servant, has not the ordinary meaning of rendering external acts of homage and fulfilling the injunctions of the master, but the deep mystical realisation of ontological dependence on God and total indebtedness and dedication to him.

The soul stands united with God for ever in its ontological structure (*onrāy ninra annilai*, 20. 8); there is neither identity nor separation between the two that are thus united. In the mystical state, therefore, which is but the intuitive realisation at the conscious level of the ontological structure, God and soul stand related neither in identity nor in duality (*onrākāmal, iruṇṇākāmal*, 20. 9), but in union in which God gives himself to me and myself to me' (*tannai enakkut taruvataiy-anniyum ennaiyum enakkē tantu*, 20. 13-14). When it is said that God gives the soul to itself, it is not implied that the soul reverts to its previous egotism. Far from it. The author only wishes to say that in the ecstatic vision of the divine the soul, without losing its individuality, is deified, and that this deification is but a return to its ontological divine nature, now consciously possessed. To put it more concretely, the soul acquires the divine mode of thinking and passes into the Divine Light, which none the less has been all along present to it.

In conclusion we may say that Śaivite mysticism as propounded by Arulnanti

consists, certainly, in the intuitive experience of divine immanence, but not without at the same time including divine transcendence. It is a mysticism of divine immanence insofar as the soul lays hold upon God's presence and power in its own deeper self and lives mystically united with him. It is a mysticism of divine transcendence as well, inasmuch as the soul realises its utter dependence on God and lovingly surrenders to him in all that it thinks and does. In such experience the divine grace (*arulcatti*) is the pivotal point of contact between the divine and the created spirit, as the principle of participation of God in the soul and of the soul of God, and finally as the token of God's self-gift to the soul and of the soul's self-surrender to God.

3

Isan Palganattu Ennappadal

The *Śaiva Siddhānta* system enquires into the ultimate end of the individual soul. When the individual soul follows the *path* of devotion does it merge inseparably with the God or does it retains its identity is the question on which different subjects arose among the Śaivites. Some hold that it ends in inseparable union with Śiva. Other hold that the soul achieves all the greatness except identity. The soul remain in close proximity of the supreme every enjoying the glorious light—knowledge that is Go. The *Śaiva Siddhānta* of the Tamil country subscribes to the later view. Arulnandi in his *Śiva Jñānasiddhiyār* holds that to remain in the company of devotees of Śiva for ever as the highest bliss. The twelfth *sūtra* reads:

Those who attain *Śivajīvana* will become the devotee of Śiva *bhaktas*. This is the conclusion that seems to be warranted by the Purāṇic lore. We may cite the examples of Nandikeśvara and Caṇḍikeśvara. They were great devotees of Śiva whom the Lord made the leaders of the Ganas and gave them the privilege of being near Him always. Similarly in the case of other wellknown devotees, Silandi—the spider, was born as Koccengat chōla, who finally became one of the *Śivaganas*, says Appar. 7071. In this verse Appar seems to subscribe to the concept, that the soul remains near God and never merges absolutely the supreme.

Ācāra is the strict observance of religious duties, pursue purity and code of conduct as prescribed in religious texts and customary usages. This is said to purify the mind of the individual and prepare him for God realisation. But in the case of spontaneous devotees, when in a state of ecstatic joy and devotion, the *ācāras* or the religious barriers have no meaning. True devotion is beyond fetters or restrictions. And one who is in such a frenzy of devotion does not observe *Ācāra*. Rather he breaks it which is *anācāra*. For example, to spit or drop anything from the mouth on a divine image is *anācāra*. To place one's foot on an image is a disrespect—an *anācāra*, that invites punishment. To worship an image with flowers taken from human head is *anācāra*. These are extremely despicable acts for a follower of *ācāra*. But Kaṇṇappa, the innocent hunter, precisely did these acts out of spontaneous devotion. The Lord not only accepted them but was greatly pleased and held him as the foremost among his devotees. The story of Kaṇṇappa is the best illustration, showing the contrast between the follower of *ācāra* and *anācāra*. Godhood remains beyond any boundary of *ācāra* and *anācāra*. But their expression by Appar shows great emphasis was laid by the society on the strict religious observances.

"There are those beings, who take births and deaths again and again. Extolling them as the Deva-God some are deeply devoted to Him. Will such men whose mind are like rocks realise that both Viṣṇu and Brahmā, themselves adored Lord Śiva as their *Atman* Father)." Obviously Appar had in mind here the Vaiṣṇavas who adored Viṣṇu who took ten births. So also the Vaidikas who held Brahmā as the Supreme. Brahmā was created by Lord Śiva.

*Settu Settup pirappade Tēvenru
Patti Cey manap Pāraikadgu ērumo
Attan enru Ariyodu Piramanum
Tuttiyam Ceyya nīrmanar Jotiye*

(6235)

That all other Gods are inferior (*Sinudeivam*) to Śiva and obey His biddings. *Kuṭṭeṇal puridal*, is the conviction of the Śaivas. This has been referred to by Appar time and again. He puts this idea in an interesting verse in which he says, that there were several crores of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indras, who met with their death. The only Lord, who had no death is Īśa.

*Nāru Kōḍi braṇmarkaḷ nondinār,
Ārukōḍi Nārāyanar ingame
Eru Gangai Manal ennili Indrar
Iṇu ilāḍavan īsan oruvanē.*

(6236)

i.e. one hundred crores of Brahmās have died. Six crores Nārāyaṇas also met with the same fate. In the case of Indra, it is endless like counting the sand particles on the Ganges. It is only Īśa, the only who has no death."

In this connection, a verse of Appar assumes great significance. Appar is firmly of the view that speculative arguments would not lead to the realisation of the supreme. Even if arguments are advanced with *hetus* (logics), if any is proved to be the God—Deva, it could be established that there is a greater god Mahādeva, the Supreme Deva.

*Vādu Ceydu mayangu manattardiy
Edu Colluvīrāhilum claiḱāl
Yādor ēvar enappaḍuvarkkelām
Māḍēvan allāl Devar marṛillaiye*

(6237)

Here the terms *vādu* logic and *atu* (Sanskrit *hetu*) syllogism, are used clearly in the sense of logistic arguments. Appar says that *vādu* will only confuse the mind. In this he seems to echo the same idea expressed by Sankara already referred to.

The later *Śaiva siddhānta* doctrine lays emphasis on the fact, that creation begins from destruction and that Śiva begins with dissolution. *antam ādi enmanār pulavar* says the

Śivajñāna bodham—Tamil Sutra. The corresponding Sanskrit lore would say *Samhāra Kāraṇaḥ Karta*. It is said that Meykandar in the 13th century codified this doctrine. Jñānasambandar, in the middle 7th century, clearly establishes this doctrine when he says 'Śiva is *Irū*—i.e. the very end. The verse is significant for it gives the nature of Śiva.

He is the end, the one Primordial
 the two as man and woman
 the three as gunas (*satva, Rajas & Tamas*)
 the four as eternal Vedas
 the five as bhūtas
 the six as the taste
 the seven as musical notes
 the eight as directions,
 and also beyond all these.

(1112)

This verse attempting to give the *Śivārūpa* of Śiva begins with the *Irū* i.e., the end. Appar also mentions pointedly when he says "He is the end, middle and beginning" *Iruntūy, Naḍumāy Mudalum āhi*.

4

The Īśvara-Gītā and *Bhakti*

The first eleven chapters of the *Uttara-Vibhāga* of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (i.e., of the second part of the *Purāṇa*) constitute what is known as the *Īśvara-Gītā*. The *Kūrma-Purāṇa* is so called because Viṣṇu is said to have revealed it to the ṛṣis when he assumed the form of a tortoise, and carried on his hard shell the mountain, Mandara, by means of which he churned the ocean of milk. In spite of what the title and tradition just mentioned seem to indicate, the *Purāṇa* is through and through a Śaivite work extolling the supremacy of Śiva over Viṣṇu and Brahmā through the agency of Viṣṇu himself.

The *Īśvara-Gītā* is a metaphysical and mystical treatise containing Śaivite theism and *bhakti*, theories of Yoga, and the philosophy of the Upanishads. The author has definitely been inspired by the *Kāthaka* and *Śvetāśvatara* Upanishads and the *Bhagavad-Gītā* for there are many borrowings from these works, not only as to the ideas but also with regard to expressions. As in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* the Lord Kṛṣṇa reveals himself and insists on the necessity of *bhakti* for liberation, so, too, in the *Īśvara-Gītā* the Lord Śiva reveals himself and teaches the importance of *bhakti*. As a matter of fact, there is a striking parallelism between the transfiguration of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (ch. 11) and the dance of Śiva in the *Īśvara-Gītā* (ch. 5); and between the passages dealing with the *bhaktas* dear to the Lord (compare the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, with the *Īśvara-Gītā*, 75 ff.).

Unfortunately, the *Īśvara-Gītā* has suffered a great deal of neglect from scholars, and writers of Hinduism rarely make any allusion to it, even though it contains valuable matter with respect to Śaivite theism and *bhakti*.

We can say for certain that this work was composed before Al-Beruni's visit to India (beginning of the eleventh century), since he includes this *Purāṇa* in the fifth place in his list of twenty-eight *Purāṇas*; it is probably that this *Purāṇa* was written many centuries before his visit.

The Doctrine of *Bhakti*

(a) God's Love for Souls

The Lord Śiva loves who approach him and seek his help. He loves them in the measure in which they pay him homage and reverence out of love.

I love those who implore me, and I love them as they implore me; hence it is necessary that one adores me, the supreme Lord, by the offering of *jñānayoga*.

Moreover, *bhakti* itself, that is generated in the soul of man, is a gift of Śiva's grace in response to devout worship of, and loyal service to, him.

It is by your grace that our loyal love is born for the stainless supreme Being, for the supreme Lord, for you.

(b) Man's Love for God

(i) The *Īśvara-Gītā* teaches that *bhakti* is a *conditio sine qua non* to obtain the favour of the Almighty Lord, which is necessary for the soul to free itself from fetters. If a man loves the Lord Śiva and takes refuge in him, abandoning all terrestrial gain and egoism, he will be released from *samsāra*.

He who, full of love, firm in the practice of religious duties, will listen to him constantly, will be delivered from all evil and will find glory and happiness in the heaven of Brahman.

Those who love me will not perish; those who love me will be delivered from their evil. This was my promise from the beginning: he who loves me does not perish.

(ii) As in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, so here, two kinds of *bhakti* are proposed, the lower, and the higher, or supreme, *bhakti*.

(c) The Lower *bhakti*

This is manifested in many ways, either in the form of praise, or in the form of offerings, or in the form of worship and adoration. the *bhaktas* joyfully chant with love and praises of the supreme Saviour (*taṣṭuvur hr̥ṣṭāmanaso bhaktyā taṁ parameśvaram*) (1.32). They make offerings to Śiva as a mark of love.

He who, in order to obtain my favour, gives me every day a leaf, a flower, a fruit, little water, he is my devotee and is dear to me.

Acts of worship and adoration are to be performed with love in order to obtain Śiva's favour.

If one adores with love, it is always me whom he adores.

Bhakti has to permeate the whole personality of the devotee, his thought, word, and action.

The adoration of the Lord consists in worshipping constantly God Śiva by addressing to him hymns of praise and pious thoughts and by doing acts of devotion.

Like the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Īśvara-Gītā* also proposes dis-interested activity and explains the deeper meaning of such an activity from the point of view of love. In this way, *karma* and *bhakti* are fused into one spiritual striving of the soul to obtain the true knowledge of God. Detachment or renouncement has value only insofar as it includes attachment to Śiva.

He who has no aversion for any being and who acts with benevolence towards others, he who is without self-interest, without egoism, who is my devotee, this one is dear to me.

The *yogin* who is always satisfied, who is subdued and whose resolution is firm, whose heart and mind are attached to me, loves me, this one is dear to me.

He who is interested, pure, intelligent, indifferent to things here below, without alarm, who renounces all mundane enterprise, who loves me, such a one is dear to me.

Even the low-caste people can practise this form of worship and gain release.

As to others who observe faithfully their particular duty, the *sūdras* and other men pertaining to low castes, if they are my *bhaktas*, they will be saved, even if they are already attained by *kāla* (death).

(d) The supreme *bhakti*

As in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (18.63), so also in the *Īśvara-Gītā*, the most secret doctrine about liberation, the revelation of supreme knowledge, is given only to those who possess *bhakti*.

The science most secret which it is necessary to keep with care, to you who are knowers of *Brahman*.

This secret supreme wisdom (or knowledge) which procures the soul union with myself, is taught to those of the twice-born who are chaste and devout.

The only way of gaining the liberating knowledge of God, once such a knowledge is revealed, is through *bhakti*.

The Lord says: without the supreme love, neither by all sorts of ascetical exercises, nor by liberality, nor by sacrifices, can souls come to know me.

To the true *bhaktas* Śiva manifests himself in all his glory and light.

Some, full of love, heart appeased, respiration during sleep in control, see a being made of light. It is the Yogin (Śiva) who appears to them.

Among all the *bhaktas* the best is he who seeks God and possesses him by the supreme knowledge. The *bhakti* of the *jñānin* is the best; here *bhakti* and *jñāna* are identified and fused into one liberated state.

Of all the devotees, he whom I love (most), he who is dearest to me, is he who always seeks to adore me (or obtain favour) by knowledge and not otherwise. Those who, full of devotion, see that the supreme Being, one or multiple, is the Lord, myself, ought to be considered as one with him.

In the second chapter of the *Rudra-saṁhitā* of the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa* Śiva identifies *bhakti* in this way with knowledge:

*bhaktau jñāne na bhedo hi . . .
vijñānāt na bhavaty eva sati bhakti-virodhinah* (11. 2; 23.16)

The same identification also occurs in the *Śaiva Siddhānta* theology and we can take it for certain that in Śaivism as a whole *bhakti* is not proposed as opposite to or different from *jñāna*.

The Mystical State

Although the description of mystical state in the *Īśvara-Gītā* is far from being perfectly clear, we can distinguish the three stages in the experience of the mystics.

The first stage consists in reaching the state of *avyakta* (unmanifested being). *Avyakta* is the essential cause of the phenomenal world, which is perfect knowledge outside the domain of *guṇas* and *prakṛti*; in brief, it is unmanifested being as the substantial cause of all beings.

The unmanifest being, which is the cause (of the phenomenal world), is the supreme indestructible abode, without qualities; it is perfect knowledge. It is this which sages see.

When the mystics have destroyed in their hearts all selfish desires they become identified with *Brāhman*. This leads to the second stage.

Now, *Brāhman* is the divine essence, the *liṅga* of *avyakta*, unique, itself without *liṅga* (i.e. without its own characteristics mark).

Brāhman is said to be without *liṅga* (i.e. indefinable), unique, *liṅga* of *avyakta*.

Brilliant light by itself, supreme and first principle. It is established in heaven.

The mystical experience in this stage lies in becoming identified with the universal light, pure knowledge, which is a different experience from that of individual partial lights, like the sun, moon, stars, elements, or faculties. It is the experience of the *ātman* (soul) of the supreme Being, for *Brahman* and the *ātman* of God.

That which is knowledge, stainless, pure, free from doubt, limpid, is my self. The inspired sages say that it is this which is true knowledge.

The third stage is that of the real *bhaktas*, who, knowing that the supreme Being is the Lord Śiva, are united with him in perfect bliss. *Brahman* (divine essence) is the self (*ātman*) of Īśvara Śiva, and hence experience of *Brahman* leads to the experience of Śiva himself as the personal God, which experience is nothing else than that of love (*bhakti*) or of loving union with God. This union is expressed by the idea of *sāyujya*. The state of mystical experience is spoken of as 'entering into my secret body all penetrates all'.

That is why the *yogins* who know truth, entering into my most secret body which penetrates all, obtain imperishable union with me.

There are a few texts where the author seems to consider as identical deliverance, union, *nirvāṇa*, unity. For example,

Such is the supreme deliverance, such the supreme union with me, the *nirvāṇa* oneness with *Brahman*, 'isolation'; sages know it.

The author seems to equate various types of *mukti* and to aim at a syncretistic position. If I understand him correctly, what he means to say is that whatever kind of *mukti* the various schools of religious thought, Buddhistic, advaitic, theistic, *yogic*, etc. might propose, they all find their fulfilment in the *sāyujya* or loving union with Śiva, as this alone is the supreme *mukti*. This, as I have said, is my own interpretation, and the texts themselves are ambiguous; the reason for understanding the texts as I have done, is that the work as a whole clearly teaches a strong theism and *bhakti*.

5

Īśvarapratyabhijñā of Utpaladeva

The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir has been named as *Pratyabhijñā-darsana* in the *Saravadarśanasamgraha* of Mādhavāchārya partly because the name of the most important philosophic work on the subject is *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and partly because the doctrine of *pratyabhijñā*, or self-recognition has been given the utmost importance in that work of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta, one of the top most important thinkers of India, while mentioning the importance of that work, says like this, "It may be possible for a person to dive deep into something much dreadful by the flames of its interior fire, named *Vāḍṛāṇḍa*, kindled immensely by forceful gales of stormy winds at the time of the cosmic dissolution of all solid existence, but it is not at all possible for a thinker to fathom the depths of the philosophy expressed in *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, which none other than Śiva Himself is capable to do".

Utpaladeva, the author of the work, belonged, according to the statement of Rāmakaṇṭha, his disciple, to *Rājānaka* family of Kashmirian Brāhmins. His father according to his own statement, was Udayākara. He had as on named Vibhramākara. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, taking suggestion from these two names infers that the original name of Utpaladeva may have been Utpalākara. It is just possible that his disciples and associates may have added, out of respect. He calls himself simply 'Utpala.' He does not give us any more information regarding his personal history. Abhinavagupta, while commenting on the *Vivṛti* of Utpaladeva on his own-*Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, says that Utpaladeva was a Brāhmin born of Vāḍṛāṇḍa was thus the name of his mother. Lāṭas were the ancient people of Gujarat. The ancestors of Utpaladeva had thus migrated from Gujarat to Kashmir, most probably during the reign of Lalitāditya. It appears from the words of Abhinavagupta that Utpaladeva had himself given such information in his *Vivṛti* on the words—"Udayākaraśūnina" of his *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*. But since the *vivṛti* has not so far become available, this point cannot be fully elucidated.

Soṃānanda, the twentieth presiding teacher of the school of Tyambaka and the author of *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, the first philosophic treatise written on the subject, was the preceptor of Utpaladeva. Lakṣmaṇagupta and Abhinavagupta were respectively his immediate successors in the line of direct disciples. Rāmakaṇṭha, a contemporary of Avantivarman, was also one of his prominent disciples. Padmānanda was his class mate. Rāmakaṇṭha's

commentaries on *Spandakārikā* and *Bhagavadgītā* are available in print. It was he who collected and compiled the poetical works of Utpaladeva.

Utpaladeva quotes from *Spandakārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa and also from *tattvagarbha-Stotra* of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa, who was a perfect being (*siddhā*), lived in Kashmir during the reign of Avantivarman and has been mentioned like that by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarangini* which mentions Kuktākana as a court poet of that ruler. Rāmakaṇṭha says that he was a younger brother of Mukṭākana. Therefore, all these teachers, philosophers and poets belong to the later part of the ninth century. They are thus elder and younger contemporaries. Bhaṭṭa-Kallāṭa and Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna as the elder ones. Somānanda and Utpaladeva as the younger ones and Lakṣmaṇagupta and Rāmakaṇṭhas as still younger ones.

Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the 10th century as earlier part of the eleventh century. The dates given by him in three of his works correspond respectively with A.D. 990, 992, and 1014 A.D. while writing his *Vimarśinī* on the *Vivṛti* of Utpaladeva on his own *Īśvaraśrīyabhijñā*, he (Abhinavagupta) says that he was entrusted by the author to his disciple Lakṣmaṇagupta, for the purpose of initiation in the ministeric Śaiva philosophy, as discussed in that work. This proves two things: Firstly, it shows that Utpaladeva was living in this world upto the time when Abhinavagupta was just a young boy who could not be yet taught the profound principles of philosophy discussed in *Īśvaraśrīyabhijñā*. Secondly, it proves that Abhinavagupta was born that early part of the tenth century when Utpaladeva was still living in a mortal form. Both Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta must have thus lived long lives, the first one beginning it in the ninth century A.D. and the second one reaching at least the first quarter of the eleventh century and both living together in the middle of the tenth.

Neither Utpaladeva nor any one else has ever said anything about the exact place of his residence. It is however probably that he was a resident of Srinagar proper, where most of the authors of important works on Kashmir Śaivism lived. There is a tradition prevalent among some old Pandits of Srinagar which says that his exact place of residence was Gotapura, (ancient Guptapura), situated somewhere in the northern part of the old city towards Vetsānag.

Utpaladeva was a great scholar. He was a master of all the subjects studied by scholars in age. His *Vivṛti* on his *Īśvaraśrīyabhijñā* must have been over-burdened by discussions from the view points of other schools of thought like *Mīmāṃsā*, *Śabda-Brahma-vāda*, *Vijñānavāda* etc. This thing is proved by the *Vimarśinī* written on it by Abhinavagupta. He had surely made a thorough study of the works of Buddhist logicians whose views he refutes now and then by means of sound arguments.

The *paths* of *saṁnyāsa*, *vairāgya* and forced repression of mind and senses, popularly prevalent among the saints and philosophers of many other parts of India, had never become much popular with the Hindu adepts of Kashmir. Five of the immediate ancestors of Somānanda were householders. Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa was a householder and so was Utpaladeva. Somānanda also was probably a householder. They followed Brāhmaṇism and practised Śaiva Yoga, side by side. Theirs was an integral *path* of action, devotion, meditation and knowledge.

Utpaladeva is the author of several valuable works on Śaiva philosophy and the most important one among them is *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*. This work deals with nearly all the important topics of the theory of Śaiva philosophy and makes them sufficiently clear to curious students. *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* of Somānanda, on account of its extremely minute ideas, absolute subtleness of its logical method and intense consciousness of its style of expression, did not allow it to become so much popular with students in general as did later *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* of Utpaladeva, his chief disciple. This work expresses in a more intelligible and an easier style all the main principles of the theory of Śaiva philosophy discussed in *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* and has been correctly described by Abhinavagupta as bearing clear reflection of philosophy of Somānanda.

Īśvarapratyabhijñā consists of four sections or books called *Adhikāraḥ*. *Jñāna* (knowing) and *Kriyā* (doing) have been accepted as two main aspects of consciousness and the first two books of the work deal with the manifestations of these two powers of the Absolute God. Book I, named *Jñānādhikāra*, refutes the Buddhist doctrine of the non-existence of a knowing subject and establishes its eternal existence in addition to the constant flow of momentary mental ideas. It proves that the real "I" is that pure and permanent consciousness which makes all recollections possible, serves as the necessary connecting link between any two ideas and with the psychic light of which do all the mental phenomena shine and appear as existent entities. It throws light on the manner in which limited subjects and objects of perception, cognition any recollection as well as the limitation itself are manifested by God through His divine powers. It proves permanent, infinite and pure consciousness to be the only base of all finite cognitions, recollections etc. It establishes by means of sound arguments the absolute Godhood of the pure and infinite consciousness, shining as all-containing, infinite, eternal, pure and absolute I-consciousness.

Book II of *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* is devoted to the description of the nature of *Kriyā*, the way and the manner of the manifestations of movement, relativity, time, space and means of relative knowledge. The Śaivite theory of causations also has been dealt with in detail in that book. Time and space have been proved to be mere conceptions of the finite subject and are said to be based on two types of relativity which also has been taken as a mere conception based on limited and pluralistic view of the finite subject. The scope of the relative means of mundane knowledge has been discussed in detail and the ultimate Truth has been established as an absolute existence shining through its own psychic lustre of pure I-consciousness and lying beyond the scope of all worldly means of knowing.

Book III describes the evolution of the thirty-six *tattvas* out of the Absolute. It analyses the whole phenomenon into different elements and describes the different stages of its evolution in accordance with the doctrines of Śaiva-Āgamas. The same doctrines are applied to the classification of knowing subjects into seven categories of living beings. It throws light on the extent of their comparative purity and impurity as well. Such classification has also been worked out in accordance with the doctrines of Śaiva Āgamas and this book, has on such account been termed as *Āgamādhikāra*. It throws light on the nature of the four states of animation consisting of waking, dreaming, sleeping

and the fourth one. Besides, it describes the essence of the five functions of animation called *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *saṁāna*, *ulāna* and *vyāna*. These five functions of animation and its four states are correlated with the seven types of living beings through an integral approach to these three types of living of analysis of the subjective phenomenon. The last book is devoted to the remaining important topics such as the origin and nature of three *guṇas*. It alludes briefly to the central topic of Śaivayoga and hints at its immediate results. Towards the close of the work has been discussed the importance of self recognition or *pratyabhijñā* and the whole work has afterwards been concluded with a reference to the name of the author and his father.

Another philosophic work of Utpaladeva is *Siddhitrayī* which consists of three small different works. It is meant to supplement *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*. Certain topics, which were dealt with *Siddhitrayī*. The first of these *Siddhis* is *Ajādapramāṇa-siddhi* in which the author proves that no dealing of knowing or doing would have become possible without the constant existence of a subjective element shining in the form of that pure I-consciousness which is an eternal entity and is different from mind and mental states. The theory of non-existentialism of the *Vijñānavāda* of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism has thus been fully refuted. The second text, named *Īśvarasiddhi*, aims at the refutation of the atheistic theory of transformation (*pāriṇāmavāda*), as advocated in the Śaṁkhya system. The author argues that the creation of this universe, consisting of numerous subjects and objects, possessing wonderfully different nature and capable of yielding wonderfully different aims, could not have become possible had there not been an allknowing conscious element behind its movements, directing them in accordance with some law and aiming them at different kinds of purposes of individual beings. It is further argued that no soul could have attained *Kaipālya* had the unconscious *prakṛti* (root substance) been independently active in transforming itself of its own accord, because, being inanimate in nature, it could never have discriminated any enlightened souls from others who are yet in darkness. The third text, named *Sambandha-siddhi*, is devoted to the explanation of the nature, origin and manifestation of relativity which has been explained to be a mere conception of the finite being. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* becomes complete with *Siddhitrayī* which serves it as an addendum.

Utpaladeva had written some more works on philosophy. Abhinavagupta quotes passages from them without mentioning their names. He has been said to have composed a work named *Parapancaśikā* on the Śaivayoga of the highest type. A verse has been quoted from it in several other works and the name of the work has been mentioned by Amṛtānanda in his *Yoginīhr̥dayadīpikā*. But the verse concerned is not found in the printed text of the work. His authorship with respect to that work is therefore doubtful.

Somananda built the theoretical aspect of Kashmir Śaivism in his *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*. Utpaladeva refined it in his philosophic works mentioned above and Abhinavagupta carried it to complete perfection by giving the final interpretation to its doctrines and principles through his commentaries on the above mentioned works and by systematising and analysing its practical aspect through his works like *Tantrālika* and *Tantrasāra*. Utpaladeva composed, in addition, brief commentaries called *ṛtti* on *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*,

Īśvarapratyabhijñā and *Siddhi-trayi* which are partly available. The loss of his *vṛtti* on the last half of *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* is an irreparable loss which pinches the students and scholars of Śaivism because that part of the work remains unintelligible to a great extent. Utpaladeva's detailed commentary called *Vivṛti* or *Tikā*, written by him on his own *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, has also been lost and the detailed commentary written on that *Vivṛti* by Abhinavagupta does not yield sufficient results on that account. If the *Vivṛti* could become available the colossal work of Abhinavagupta would become very useful.

Utpaladeva was not only a philosopher of deep insight but also a poet of great merit. He composed a few beautiful hymns in praise of Lord Śiva. In addition, he wrote a considerable number of single verses at different occasional outbursts of spiritual ecstasy caused by highly emotional feelings of union with the separation from God. Such verses were afterwards collected, compiled and classified into poems by disciples in the line. The collection was named *Śivastotrāvalī*. It is available with a Sanskrit commentary by Ksemaraja. All that poetry of Utpaladeva can be classed with the best religious lyrics of India. His poetry is suggestive of certain profound principles of his philosophy which finds a more effective expression in poetry than in logical composition.

All the important post-Buddhist school of Hindu philosophy have criticised the Buddhist principles of atheism and non-existentialism. But, since that religion depended more on intellect and reasoning than on faith and scriptural authority, its thinkers attained higher maturity in subtle logic with which they could beat Hindu thinkers in debates. The Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir took the Buddhists as the chief antagonists and both Somānanda and Utpaladeva devoted a significant part of their literary effort to the refutation of the atheistic arguments of Buddhist logicians. They silenced the subtle logical arguments of *Vijñānavāda* with the help of equally subtle logic assisted by psychological findings based on practical experiences in the fields of perception, conception and intuition. They could thus succeed in convincing the curious seekers of truth about the fallacy of the atheistic *Vijñānavāda* of Buddhism and about the correctness of their theistic absolutism. Abhinavagupta completed that mission of his predecessors.

As for the basic principles of the philosophy of Utpaladeva, he rejects the theory of material realism advocated by *Sarvāstivāda* school of Buddhism and criticised by the *Vijñāna-vāda* of the same religion. He agrees with idealists in accepting the principle that the whole phenomenon is a mere appearance without any substance apart from the nature and powers of the psychic luminosity of pure I-consciousness. His criticism of the *Sarvāstivāda* hold good as a criticism of the Hindu schools of material realism e.g. Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya etc. *Vijñānavādin*s hold the view that all the objective entities in the universe are mere reflections, or mere outward projections of constant flows of momentary mental ideas. The *vedāntins*, agreeing partly with them, maintain that all phenomena are the reflections of the imaginative will of a universal being named *Īśvara*, who, along with the whole phenomenon, is Himself a mere appearance based on the basic ignorance called *Avidyā* which, in their view, is beginningless and inexplicable.

Utpaladeva does not agree with either of these theories of Indian idealism. He resorts to sound logical arguments, aided by psychological findings and asserts that there

must be an eternally existent knowing subject, in addition to the constant flux of momentary ideas. He maintains that pure, potent and active consciousness is definitely the essential form of such subject. He argues further that any mundane dealings of knowing, recollecting, doing, etc. can become possible only when such a conscious and potent subject serves as the connecting link between any series of mental or physical actions. He says that no such series of knowing or doing can ever become possible without the help of the psychic luminosity of a permanently existent subject consisted of that pure I-consciousness which transcends mind and mental ideas and which serves as the base on which these shine. He accepts such a subject as the real self of every living being and maintains that it is always prone to know and to do by its own basic nature and not on account of any external adjunct like *Avidyā* or *śāśana*. The real self of every being is, in the view of Utpaladeva, that pure I-consciousness which is absolutely independent, divinely potent and constantly playful by its own basic nature. Such nature of the self has been accepted by him as the basic cause of its appearing as relative God, as finite soul and as objective existence.

As for the whole phenomenal existence, he says that it shines and works successfully inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness and does not at all appear or exist outside it. He infers on such account that it is, in reality, the pure consciousness itself which shines in the form of all phenomena. Abhinavagupta explains it as the reflection of the powers of the pure and potent consciousness, shining in its own psychic lustre on account of its own divine and playful nature mentioned above. Utpaladeva takes thus a position quite different from those taken by both the idealists and the realists. Such a position cannot be counted as a theory of idealism, because phenomena have not been accepted in it as being basically the reflections of any mind or as any mental ideas of any finite or infinite being. These have been accepted as the materialisation of the divine will of the infinite and pure subject brought about inside the luminosity of his pure consciousness by his own playful nature. Idealism involves ideas and those require mental apparatus which also has itself been accepted as a reflection of the divine will of such absolute subject. Utpaladeva does not agree with the non-existentialism worked out by Advaita Vedānta with regard to the phenomenon, because he says in clear terms that all phenomena do exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness.

The playful nature of the Absolute shines in the form of a will to manifest objectively as "this" the whole phenomenon which is always lying there in the form of pure "I". It exists there just as all botanical elements growing out of seed and soil do already exist in them. But seed and soil require the help of external elements like moisture and warmth etc. for the purpose of their manifestation in the form of plant, flower, fruit etc. and when they appear in such forms they cease to shine in their original forms of seed and soil. But God and His Godhead do not at all require the help of any outward element in appearing in the form of the phenomena. Besides, appearing as the whole phenomenal existence, they do not cease to shine in their original forms of pure consciousness and its divine potency, both of which are in reality only one eternal entity given two different names for the sake of understanding.

The will of the Absolute is irresistible and therefore it materialises by stages and the universe consisting of different types of numerous finite subjects and objects appears inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness without the help of any external element like *vāsanā* or *avidyā*. It gets reflected without any outward objects to cast their reflections into that luminosity. Just as reflections of different hues cannot affect the purity of crystal, so do not the reflections of diversity, objectivity, solidity etc. affect the purity of the potent Absolute which does not thus undergo any change while appearing as all phenomena. The manifestation of the universe in it is a mere show, a mere appearance and not any change or modification in its nature or character. The universe is not as false as the son of a barren woman, but its universal appearance, having a rise and a fall, is not as real as the Absolute.

All phenomena exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness and appear in their phenomenal form through the playful and divine will of the Absolute itself. They are thus the outward manifestations of the Godhead of God. Godhead is as real as God and therefore the phenomenon also is real in its original and basic aspect of Godhead. Its phenomenal appearance alone has been accepted as a creation. Such a position, taken by Utpaladeva with respect to the nature of phenomenal existence, can be termed as spiritual realism. Since Godhead has been shown to be the very essential nature of the monistic Absolute, the philosophy of Utpaladeva can be termed as a theistic absolutism. Utpaladeva accepts the absolute reality of only one entity named *Pramaśiva*, the Great Brahman and refutes the existence of anything other than that, serving as an external adjunct (*upādhi*) for the purpose of the appearance of the phenomenon. His monism can therefore be taken as the theistic and the absolute monism. It is on such account that Abhinavagupta coins a new term for it and calls it *Parādvaita* or *Paramādvaya*, so as to differentiate it from the Vedantic monism which takes the shelter of the principle of *avidyā* for the purpose of the explanation of the phenomenal existence.

The real self of every being is, according to Utpaladeva, the absolute God whose wonderfully potent will is His Godhead. God, being always charged with such will, projects out the reflections of His divine powers which appear as all phenomena. He sustains them and dissolves them again to pure consciousness. While doing so he conceals His divine nature and appears as limited soul, on one hand, and as his objective universe, on the other hand. God, applying His wrath on some souls, pushes them down into deeper and deeper darkness of ignorance and that is His activity of obscuration termed as *pidhāna* or *tirodhāna*, or *vilaya* or *nigraha*. He, applying His enlightening grace on some soul, reveals to him the whole truth about His divine nature and such a being, realising himself to be none other than God, sees every objective entity as his own self. That is the revelative activity of God. Godhead consists thus of five divine activities. As adept practitioner has, in the view of Utpaladeva, just to realise and recognise his real divine nature, that is, his natural Godhead, by means of the exact understanding of the philosophy discussed in *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and has to actually feel his divine nature by practising Śaiva yoga alluded to by him towards the close of that work. Such realisation

by an aspirant is the highest aim for which *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* was composed by the author.

Śivastotrāvalī of Utpaladeva reveals him to be a great poet possessing a spontaneous flow of highly beautiful poetry. Clearness of expression, depth of emotion, appropriateness of technique, choice of appropriate metres, and frequency of unlaboured figures of speech, found in *Śivastotrāvalī* raise the author to the rank of *mahākavis*. His approach towards God is not that of awe and servility, but of intense love and familiarity. The relation between him and his Lord is not that of a shuddering devout servant and a dreadful mighty master, but like that of a confident child and his affectionate parent. Utpaladeva is very often quite free with his Lord and reproaches Him mildly many a time for not being sufficiently gracious to him, just as one would reproach a person very near and extremely dear to him. The poet becomes at times mad with love for his Lord and expresses an emotional longing for a constant union with Him. The devotion and the worship mentioned many a time by the poet is in fact that direct realisation of the truth in which a devotee becomes one with God and sees Him in each and every object of his exterior and interior senses. *Śivastotrāvalī* is thus the practical demonstration of the theory of philosophy discussed in *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and serves as an effective supplement to that unique work on spiritual philosophy.

In short, the contribution of Utpaladeva to India's cultural achievement is unique and he is one of the greatest spiritual philosophers of the world, though he is not known much outside the small community of the Pandits of Kashmir. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* is his most valuable work on philosophy and time may come when the students of the subject throughout the whole civilized world may enjoy immense ecstasy in sucking the nectar of divine knowledge from it. What is needed in that regard is the writing and publishing of lucid and scholarly commentaries on it in English and in Hindi? Such commentaries should contain the exact essence of the Sanskrit *Vimarsīnī* on it by Abhinavagupta which, though published in two editions.

6

Ka-Liṅga

In the Śaiva theology, there is no mention of Ka-Liṅga. But among various Lingam Jyotirlinga and Svayambhulinga are held high. In the esoteric literature the term, Jyoti is accepted as the Sun. In the Śaiva Purāṇa the Jyoti and the Sun mean 'Ka'. There is a description that Brahmā, in an egg, remained floating in the water for one thousand years and then, from within the egg, he divided the egg into two parts, the upper part became dyuloka (sky) and the lower part bhuloka (earth). They were recognised as 'Ka' and Bhava. In the Amarakosa (3.3.5) 'Ka' means Marut, Brahmā and Sūrya. In the Purnacandra Bhaṣākoṣa 'Ka' stands for twenty-four gods—Brahmā, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva etc. Max Muller and J. Dowson identify 'Ka' with Prajāpati, Brāhmaṇa, Dakṣa, Kaśyapa in the sense of Lord of all creatures. In this sense each one is no other than the Sun. In the Ṛk. Veda the Sun is *jagatah*—"aprādyāvāpṛthivīantarikṣham sūrya ātmajagaṭasṭa sṭhuṣasca" (R. K. 1.115.1) and here Jagata means Lord of creatures. He is also Hiranyagarbha and Puruṣa in the Ṛk. Veda. It is seen that he is invoked as "Kaśmai devaya haviṣa vidhema" (Rk. X. 121.1) and "kaviyamānah ka iha pravocad devam" (Rk. I: 164.18). In the former the seer, Hiranyagarbha and in the latter the seer, Dirghatama, are found invoking 'ka' and Sūrya respectively in the same order of ideas. With Dirghatamas 'ka' and Sūrya are indifferent. The term, 'Kasmāi' with Hiranyagarbha has also been interpreted to mean 'Ka'. The meaning of the hymn is "whom do I invoke giving up Hiranyagarbha?" Here the pronoun has been used in its fourth case ending. So, it is not impossible that Sūrya worship was observed in the form of Ka-Liṅga in ancient time.

In the Indus Valley Inscriptions and in the Vaisali Inscriptions 'Ka' and 'Liṅga' were col-related. During the period of the Indus civilisation there were 'Ka' god and also Liṅga god. They were different in the field of worship, but in the language they were jointly producing one phonemic Value. The letters were written from right to left. G.R. Hunter analyses that in the Indus Inscriptions 'Ka' was a suffix and it was written as . This was a bi-syllabic word ak-ka (perhaps pronounced as single consonant). It is also seen that and are allied sounds. These two syllables are seen accompanied with'. In these cases the portion represents pictorially a divine or heroic figure and the suffix and which stand for 'ka' means servant or like. The whole ideographic presentation means

a servant to god or hero. It is not known the exactitude of the decipherment of G.R. Hunter. If we make the ideograph up side down and make a change of meaning, then 'ka' would mean a god or hero and other portion would mean a servant or Bhakta. The whole ideograph-reveals a condition of non-dualism or Advait, because these syllables have no separation.

This position is also seen in the Vaisali Inscription. Swami Sankarananda deciphered Plate No. XLVIII, Seal No. 369. According to him is the compound of the Śivaliṅga and a man with upraised hand. Here has the sund value of 'ka'. Here the Śivaliṅga may be Sūryaliṅga. The devotional sense of these two Inscriptions may be referred to Kalinga of Mundari language. We have told before that D.P. Pattanaik does not clarify the term, Kalinga of the Austric peoples. C.A. Hans shows the use of the term in Mundari language and probably, the term has a religious sense of use.

Example : (a) ka, aling jom e mente nea ka ling roa akad a. Aling alingak bugin gati orok hoporjapak ren ko nea bakri re nea bakri re ling upanjad koa.

(No, we have not planted all these for our eating. We are producing our good friends and neighbours in this garden).

In this example ka means negation and aling means we. These two words combined together connote negation of the word, we. The phonim 'a' in aling is a prefix and it is used with the root to change the meaning as a kind of causative. So ka+aling=Kaling may stand to cause us to negate our identities. The word, Kaling has, possibly, a devotional background of negating one's identity before any animal life, heavenly body and also before natural phenomena. In Mundari language these include animate noun.

From the use of Ka-Liṅga in the Inscriptions of the Indus Valley, in the Vaisali Inscription and in Mundari language, it seems, it was for the purpose of Bhakti (devotion) of the Bhagavatas (Phallic worshippers). The Bhagavatas may be called Kalingas and the land they occupied was called Kalinga, most probably, sometimes prior to Panini, Katyayana and Pingala. The period of these literary pioneers, according to Satyashrava, is eighth Century B.C. By the time of eighth century B.C. the term Kalinga had acquired the position of creating Indras with the alchemic preparation of a corn nown as yava and so, alinga was meant Indrayava. With the alchemic preparation of Indrayava, Kalingas were getting "īdī-paramśaiṣvare" and they were popular as "prācipatī rityādīnāmanīti bhāva."

The Kalingas in the sense of caste and tribe were always in plural number in Sanskrit literature meaning inhabitants of Kalinga kingdom. In pronunciation the term came to us differently,—in the sense of symbol it is used as Liṅga and in the sense of kingdom and tribe or caste it is used as Liṅga. This difference came in due to inter-change of religious between South Indian and Orissa. From the opinion of A. Joshi on Ravanachaya of Keunjhar district ■ is known that the Śaiva ascetics were living in the caves there. Again, in olden days there was no division between Kalinga and ancient Tamilakam and, therefore, there was a great inter-migration of people causing orthographic variations in their spoken languages. Because the northern boundary of Tamilakam was Northern Venatam which was a part of the Eastern Ghats So P. Pradhan shows that the retroflexive ḷa has come from the Dravidian source ḷ.

Evidence of Ka-Lingas in Orissa

With the view of Bhagavatism (phallism) both the Sun and Śiva may be classed in a representation of Ka-Linga and Indra moves in between them. He is a phallic god, but he has no Energy as like as the Earth and Ambā. As regards Śiva, it is true that he is Sun-god but not the Sun. That is the reason the Sun is represented in Jyotirlinga or Ka-Linga. We have shown above the identities of Sūrya-linga and Śivalinga. During the medieval age of religious development all the Lingas were appropriated by the Śiva Cult following the changing programme of Buddhism. In Orissa, the Kalingas for becoming Indras were so much devoted to the Jyotirlinga or Ka-Linga and it was very difficult for the Uḍras to create a distinct identity of their deities, Śiva and Ambā. Rather, Śiva and Ambā were always under the veil of the Sun and the Earth. Saraladas has pointed out some Śivalingas, but they are really Ka-Lingas. One such description may be seen in the Dharmavaka-Yudhisthira episode. In this episode Dharmavaka getting all answers from Yudhisthira turned into a Svayambhulinga and remained at Kapalesvara tirtha. Now one Kapalesvaralinga is in the Praci Valley and the Linga is known as Śivalinga. Dharma, here, is the Sun. Of course Śiva, Viṣṇu and others have come into the scope of Dharma. Still in popular religious ideas Dharma means the Sun.

Another episode has been created for Tryambakalinga in Dakshina Kosala. In this connection Saraladas says, "Ramacandra desired to worship Śiva and he directed Laxmana to trace it out. Laxmana failed in searching out a Śivalinga. He stuck his arrow on Kanayagiri. The arrow was turned into a Liṅga increasing its body in both sides, one side covering the heaven and the other side the under-world. This episode has correspondence with the most popular episode of Lingodbhava of the mythologies." The world is in deluge. There is no new creation. The world is floating in the water. Viṣṇu is laying in the water encompassing all in him. He was asleep in austerity. Just at the same time one such light came from the water. Viṣṇu at the sight of this light became astonished. He was Brahmā, skilled god of creation. Every one thinks himself greater than the other in respect of creation. A quarrel arose between them. Creation was not effected. So, all of a sudden, one all amazing light came in. He was the Creator. At the sight of this light, both Viṣṇu and Brahmā became alarmed. A few moments passed away. A Liṅga come out of that light. No one could see its beginning and end. Brahmā went high up and Viṣṇu went underneath. Age after age passed away. Nobody was successful. They came back. Mahādeva came out from that Liṅga and said that he was the real authority of creation, none of the two." Certainly, these episodes do not refer to Śivalinga. This writer has shown its feasibility in his "Akhandalamani Itivrutta." C.V.N. Ayar in his "Śaivism in South India", showing an instance from the 'Rajatarangini' says that Śiva had worshipped Liṅga on the occasion of his marriage. W.J. Wilkins has also shown that Pārvatī worshipped Liṅga to get Śiva as husband.

We have told that on the eve-of Daksha's sacrifice, Śiva knocked out the eyes of Bhaga and himself became Bhaga. This episode might have reference to the occasion

prevailing in the Indus Valley, but it does not concern to the occasions regarding incorporation of Śivaliṅga in phallic worship of all other regions of India. incorporation of Śivaliṅga as phallic god in any particular region is subject to brahmanisation of that particular region. It has been said in the Śiva Purana,—“Once Śiva was wandering naked. Śiva entered into Daruvana. There was a *Janasthana* (abode of seers) in that Daruvana. At the sight of naked Śiva a commotion was created and all cursed him out of hatred that his penis would fall down. All of a sudden his penis was detached from his body and it began to move from place to place burning everything that came on its way. Neither it could be stopped nor could it be extinguished. As a result, the world began to be burnt. At last the people took shelter with Pārvatī. Pārvatī became pleased with the prayers of the Brahmācāries and she held it in her Yoni. Then according to the advice of Brahmā all began to worship Śiva in the form of Liṅga.”

Acceptance of Śivaliṅga might have been effected in the Brahmānic creed prior to Gautama Buddha, the feasibility of which we have shown later. Moreover, the Kalingas were not different from Śiśnadevas who were discredited in the Rk. VII. 21.5 and Rk. X. 99.3. It may also be a fact due to the dominance of the Śiśnadevas in Kalinga, the land was forbidden for the Brāhmanas even during the period of the Buddha. That is the reason for which *Grāmadevatī* has been held high in the religious life of the Oriyas. Now these *Grāmadevatīs* are under Śaivism, but really, they were primarily Ka-Lingas associated with the rites of fertility and generation. The position of *Grāmadevatī* of Orissa is something peculiar in India. Unlike other parts of India *Grāmadevatīs* in Orissa are graceful (Infra, Ch.). Many of them have been converted to Śaivite Liṅgas in the name of Bhairava and Bhairavī and by virtue of Brahmānisation. A Eschmann says, “the pillars in Kandhamala area in the district of Phulbani were primarily symbols for Mother-Goddess, but they are frequently and proudly referred to by the people as Liṅga. Such-symbols of Mother-Goddesses are always determined to be contained with the Sun, and later, with Śiva.

Conception of Bhairava in Śaivism

Bhairava is a human teacher having emancipation. The tantric literature connected him with Vedic Aja Ekapada, with Vratyadeva and with the Yogins. Saraladas describes about one's becoming Bhairava. Once upon a time Śiva in the guise of Sumeka was collecting Kusa grass and was keeping these in the ban of the Ganges. Nandini came and ate those all. At this Sumeka became angry and killed her with his trident. At the sight of her death Sumeka became frightened and became Bhairava. He left all brahmanic rituals and did everything good and bad. It means one's becoming Bhairava is related to his frightening being conscious of his own being. The frightening brings deformation in one's natural state of being, in and out. The Śivasutra describes Bhairava as “nartaka ātma” (III. 9). It means Bhairava is a state of arrest produced by any intense emotion or sensation. Consciousness of his being has two effects—fright and bliss. Bhairava may not be different from Rudra.

In the process of transformation of Ka-Linga into Bhairava the basic concept of Indra forms the link between the two. Fundamentally, Indra was a tantrin and the Kalingās were leading towards the same prospect of tantricism. It not only resulted in emerging Bhairavas, but also gave rise to communal deities like Patarasauri, Domini, Odāsuri etc. of Śaiva group. It was most probably, effected through the transformation of the Kalingās into the Uḍras.

The history of the Kalingas is the history of their defeats in the battle fields. 'Kalingah Sāhasikāh' of Visvarath Kaviraj was not for its meaning of the lexicograph, it was for an indirect meaning (Vyanjana). They had plundered the jewels of Ashoka. It may be a fact that they were pearl-divers. Certainly, the Kalingās were a sea-faring caste. It was not impossible that they would have plundered wealth from the Mauryan Empire. Bravery in this field brought them a war, in which they were greatly put down by Ashoka. With the lapse of a period about two hundred years the Kalingās under the leadership of Kharavela became able to revenge against the Magadhas. It is not known how could the defeated Kalingas gather strength? It is simply a change of spirit which has close correspondence with the spirit of Śaivism. Śiva encouraged heroism. It comes in the mythologies. So also the Kalinga War of Asoka is mythical and it was in the root of all war descriptions of Mythologies. On the basis of great devastations, which had been mentioned in the Inscription of Asoka, if we believe that "Kalinga in his time included the entire region now known as Orissa." We must believe in skilled hands of the bow-arrowmen living in the Plateaus and Rolling Uplands of Orissa today and were living then in great number. The Nisadas were Śaivas and a few of them were aryanised by Dirghatamas, and they had formed Kalinga kingdom. So it is likely Kalinga was laying in a narrow strip in the coastal region. It is also possible that for administrative purpose Ashoka had placed two Rock Edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugada.

The Plateaus and the Rolling Uplands in present Orissa were parts of Vindhyan region and were under Kosala administrative unit. From the present study of the tribes living in the Southern and the South-Western parts of Orissa, there are Oriya speaking Reḷi, Godagula, Dombu, Dhakkado, Porja, Orono and Mali tribes. Besides, there are six main subdivisions bearing the names of Marigani, Obbiriya, Odiya, Sebadasiya, Andimiya and Mandiri. They were athletes, jugglers, thieves, dacoits and burglars. These professions speak about their physical strength. Among them now the Mallis are Sevayatas in the temples of Śiva and Śakti and it may be their hereditary profession. From the present position of Oriya-speaking tribes, it may be said that during the period of Kharavela they were united and were swayed away by a clarion call of Oriya Nationality of some one and Kharavela had taken the best advantage of their physical strength. Basically, they were nomadic tribes, but during the period of Kharavela they had obtained permanent habitations and had adopted agriculture as their livelihood. Such inference may be supported by the position arose out of Kalinga war of Asoka.

When a terrible battle was fought in Kalinga, it is possible, the neighbouring areas would have been alarmed and they would have gone into the forest regions. The Kalingās were Oriya speaking castes. Ashoka had deported a fair percentage of the Kalingas. As

R. Thapar thinks—"Asoka made the deported Kalingās to clear the forested lands and to cultivate the virgin lands, but the farmers were left unmolested by the armies." The fugitives and the deported soldiers were left to farming in the upper parts of the river valleys of Mahanadi and Vaitarani. The deported Kalingās might have been less in number than the Oriya speaking tribes. In course of acculturation, the Oḍiā tribes would have their phallic deity, Oḍāsuni and the Kalingās would have been left to follow their foot-prints for agricultural production. They were the Udrakas with a spoken language of Udra-Vibhasa, to which B. Padhi has taken much care to establish in his 'Udraja Prakruta.'

The Udras were evolved as a caste in a region between the river valleys of Mahanadi and Vaitarani. Later, the ruling agency of the Udras were known as Bhanjas, but the region they ruled over was known as Udra Viṣaya. The Bhanja kings became sophisticated Kshatriyas just like the Rajbansis of Assam. The Rajbansis are mainly persons of the Koch and Mech tribes who have assumed this name on conversion to Hinduism. Like this, the Bhanjas, a detribalised caste, have been forged out of various tribal groups and have formed an integrated part of the Oriya Caste. So are the Karanas the Brāhmanas the Khandayatas, the Mallis, the Kaivarttas etc. But with the process of detribalisation of the tribes, the inborn predisposition and instinctive urges of the tribesmen, which owed allegiance to their chief or the administrative body, were transferred to the wider circle of the Oriya. The local groups as evolutionary units increased in size, passing from a tribal to a national stage, the power of assimilating fresh gens was practised in ever-widening Circles, but the fresh gens incorporated were always from the same wide areas and of nearly the same genetic origin.

Later on, these new groups were amalgamated, gradually losing their inheritances and became conscious of that larger national unit, the Oriya. Bhanjabhumi was the nucleus riverine region in which the Udras came out sophisticated and formed such a greater national unit. At about seventh century A.D., according to epigraphic records, Odra had got the status of an administrative division in Uttara Tosali. As S.N. Rajguru remarks on the travelling of Huen-Tsang and on his description about 'U-tu' or Odra, it seems, by the time of Huen-Tsang Odras had extended their kingdom up to the coastal area within present Balasore and Cuttack districts. While Huen-Tsang proceeded from Manbhum and Dhalbhum to Kangoda, he would have passed through a part of Odra country. So he remarks—"The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so, there was no powerful enemy..." Here "the towns naturally strong" and "from the slopes of the hills" may indicate the locations of the towns in the mountainous area in upper parts of Mayurbhanja and Keunjhar districts of present Orissa. When did the Udras extend the territory of their kingdom up to the edge of the sea? There is no epigraphic record to corroborate the fact that Odra kingdom, for the first time, was started in upper part of the river valley within Mahanadi and Vaitarani.

We have seen that it was the nucleus and virgin land for the fugitives and deported soldiers during Kalinga War of Asoka. It is Bhanjabhumi which commemorates the

founder in the name of Gaṇaṇḍa Virabhadra who stands a bridge between the religious practices of the Kalingas and of the Uḍras. As like as Śiva of the Indus Valley, 'Gaṇaṇḍa Virabhadra' carries the religious significance of the dark period of Orissa.

Gaṇaṇḍa Virabhadra has become a mythical founder in the Kesari Copper Plate of Satrubhanja. He is said to have come from Vasistha lineage, to have born from peacock egg and to have established 84,000 villages. Gaṇaṇḍa being peacock-egg born speaks about his totemistic culture which is characteristic feature of the Kandhas of Mongoloid stock of blood, and primarily, it is opposite to the Sabaras of Austric stock. It is very difficult to determine the stock of blood of Gaṇaṇḍa Virabhadra and of the Bhanja rulers. We have told before about the anthropological groupings (supra., Ch. 1). The family, the clan and the tribe were, in the past, moving agencies till settled habitations were established and they were moving, assimilating their blood, culture, custom and tradition, with cult spots, and sometimes, the Mongoloid groups are found to have adopted Jakarmā of the Austric groups as their 'Bhūdevatā', who has a strong impact over the social life of the sophisticated Oriyas.

In the nomadic stage of the Uḍra tribe there was no choice of totems. They had no hero or man of distinction whose memory was to be perpetuated through selection of totem. The totem of peacock signifies ? Higher stage of development of Bhanja family which had kept an account their kinship and descent. Gaṇaṇḍa was their man of distinction and so, he was commemorated. It seems from him the emphasis of the establishment was shifted from tribal ties to social responsibility, under which the social transition and territorial expansion were effected. His being egg-born means he was taken into Āryan Culture and his Vasistha lineage means his being a custodian of the religious view of Vasistha. Taking the ancient religious practices of Bhanja family and Bhanjabhumi, and the hymn of Vasistha, (Rk. VII. 59.12) which we have discussed above, (Supra. Ch.) into account we may say that he was a Śatva. His establishment of 84,000 villages may not be true, but, most probably, he had established some habitations in that nucleus region and he had initiated the people with the doctrine of one's becoming of Rudra or Tryambaka meaning Trimāturā. Here one's becoming of Rudra depends upon his interplay of Prāṇa in three principal nerves—īḍā, Pingalā and Suśumna. It is evident in his name that he had practised this Hathayoga and initiated others in his line. So, folk festivals like Dandayātrā and Uḍā festival were popular among the Uḍras and today these are observed.

The name, Gaṇaṇḍa Virabhadra has reference to the episode of 'Sankhacūḍāvadha' of the Śiva Pūrana. Śiva and Kālī had fought Sankhacūḍā. Sankhacūḍā was their devotee. Śiva and Kālī fought him with the help of their Gaṇas, among which Virabhadra was the leader—"Virabhadra gaṇāgrāṇi" (Ch. CI.). In that battle, Kālī fought with a stick in hand—"Cogradaṇḍā" (Ch. CII.) but Sankhacūḍā had to fight saluting by laying flat on the ground (Ch. CII.). Sankhacūḍā had to repeat the same process when he fought Śiva also.

From this episode, it seems, a man, as like as Śiva in the Indus Valley, of Śaiva creed was revered like Virabhadra gaṇāgrāṇi by the Uḍras who were established from

the mountainous region to the sea edge. The term 'danḍa' has also reference to 'danḍa' in the hand of Kālī and to the devotion of Sankhacuḍā through danḍa (salutation) and so the term connotes torture,—self-torture and torture to others in the sense of mortification. It seems the name of the man who had introduced this Hathayogic process in Uḍradeśa was superseded by 'gaṇadanḍa.' Danḍa and self-torture are main criteria of the Danḍa Yātrā and Uḍaparva or Jhāmuyātrā. Devotees who observe these festivals are called Bhagatās. While the rustic people say it Bhagatā, the puritans say it Bhakta. It seems the term Bhagatā is a deformative of Bhaktā. But really, this term has more concern to Bhaga than Bhakta. The Bhāgatas may be called Dandins who have correspondence with the Bhāgavatas or phallics. This we have indicated before hand (*supra*, Ch.).

We have seen that Dandika of the Pada Tadritakam and Dandins of our postulation are owed much to the term Danḍa. It is said that Dandin was one of the seven Śaiva sects,—Dandin, Sanyasin, Brahmacarin, Paramahansa, Lingait, Aghorin and Yogin. Samkara had established Dandin sect. There were ten kinds of Dandins known as Daśanāmi. They were holding and were worshipping Danḍa. But the Dandin sect is much anterior to Samkara. Perhaps, Samkara had brought a reformation on it. Basically, it was a symbol of phallic deity. It is seen that the Dandins of Samakara were not allowed to beg from the doors of non-Brahmanas. Much before Samkara the term, Dandika or Dandin was used for humour in literary tradition. Sudraka is found to have used the term figuratively in his 'Padmaprabhritakam.' There are two such terms, Chauksa Vādita and Danḍasuka. S.P. Tewari clarifies 'danḍasuka' a mischievous venomous serpent or a devil like this. So also Chauksa Vādita has been used as a nickname of Pavitraka. Vita observes the activity of Pavitraka who is in amorous dalliance with harlots. Pavitraka is clever and poses himself to be a holy person. He has secret affairs with 'Pumschali.' In colloquial Oriya 'Cokhā' means a great clever. According to Abhinavagupta "Coksāh Bhagavata viśeśāh ye ekāyana iti prasidhāh."

In the Bhagavata Purāṇa, Coksa is used "bhāgavata prapana ekāntin." In one sense Bhagavata is very rigid about puritanity and in the other he is playing with Bhaga. Again it is referred to Viṣṇu Dasa in the 'Padatadritakam' of Shyamilaka. Here Viṣṇu Dasa is called "Vetra danḍa kundika-bhāṇḍa suṇita vṛṣhala cauksa amātya." Viṣṇu Dasa is holding staff in one hand and a Kamandalu (water pot) in the other, but really, he is a coksā. This Danḍa and the Dandin have a profound impact over the social life of the Oriyas who enriched the folk-lore of Orissa. Except the folklore, there is no literary evidence in Orissa to support the view that the Dandin sect was grown in Orissa and was developed in the South. Still religious relation between Orissa and the South was there much prior to Sudraka (600 A.D.) and so, it was appropriated in the South prior to the 600 A.D. In this background, it may be said that the transformation of Bhagavatas into Dandins was effected in Orissa and its antiquity may be pushed back up to the period of one's becoming Gaṇadanḍa Virabhadra. We have assigned him the third Century B.C., the period following the Kalinga war of Asoka, when he might have come into prominence.

Besides, he was also known as Virabhadra. In the religious history of Śaivism in

Orissa, the Purāṇic Virabhadra is much warranting and so, this had been an appellation for the man in Bhanjabhumi. It was Virabhadra who had pulled out the eyes of Bhaga on behalf of Śiva in the sacrificial altar of Daksha. The episode goes that Daksha deprived Śiva of his sacrificial offerings. Umā urged Śiva to display his power and assert his rights. So he created Virabhadra, "a being like the fire of fate", and of most terrific appearance and powers. He could realise the rights of Śiva. In this issue he is as like as Rudra.

We can count upon his two main works, his pulling out the eyes of Bhaga and his realising the rights of Śiva over sacrifice, for the antiquity of Śaivism and of Virabhadra of Orissa. The association of Virabhadra with these two issues, though hypothetical, can not be abated. Firstly, the Sun had innumerable eyes and all were shifted to Śivaliṅga. Mukhalingas of Bhubaneswar and of Sitabanji at Bhubaneswar has been converted from Boudha stupa as there was rivalry between Buddhism and Śaivism. The enmity between Buddhism and Śaivism in Orissa was not arresting which had resulted in conversion of Boudha stupas into Śivaliṅgas. Rather these two religions were passing through close reciprocation. Its name of Bhaskaresvara may push its antiquity prior to the 5th Century A.D. The name indicates a commemoration of its early phase. It was, perhaps, a Ka-Liṅga and was converted to Śivaliṅga. The Mukhalinga at Sitabanji of Keunjhar district is of this variety. It has pornographic feature. This Mukhalinga is associated with the Raja festival which bears phallic trait. So, the said Mukhalinga speaks about its transition. These two ancient Mukhalingas can be put in the same line of Kotilinga in Khiching area of Mayurbhanj district.

The Mukhalingas bear the testimony of membrum virile and in addition to it, there are Mukhas (faces). Most probably the former was their basic form and faces were added to them later, either during Kushana period or during Sunga-Kushana period. The Kushanas were phallic worshippers. During the reign of the Kushanas the Buddhism was modified according to *tantric* and phallic characteristics of Śaivism. Discovery of Kushana coins in various places of Orissa may support the cause that there was Kushana influence in some way or other. Multifrons were added to Liṅga on account of Śiva being Bhaga. So the Taittirīya Samhita glorified 'Virupebhyo' and the 'Kumarasambhava' glorified, "Vapurvirūpaksām lakṣyajanmata." All ugly forms were conceived as the greatness of Śiva. In the Indus Valley Śiva was with three faces. But in medieval Europe there was a painting of a Duchess in ugly form which was the greatest artistic creation. Through the spread of Mithraism in Eurasia, the Sungas, and the Kushanas might have been aware of this masterpiece.

During the age of the Sungas and the Kushanas a vast number of people from Central Asia came over India and they were mixed with indigenous people. They were Mithraists. The Mukhalingas of Gudimallam, Sitabanji and Bhubaneswar might have come out of their interference. H.D. Bhattacharya says in this respect, "the god usually caned with two or four hands, with his bullmount and Nandi by the side, but a tendency to multiply the form is seemed to have come from the coins of Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushana rulers." It seems the Mukhalingas were the combining form of Ka-Liṅga and Śivaliṅga. The Mukhalinga of Sitabanji may be the first representation of such

variety in India as it is linked with Raja festival. The membrum virile part above the faces was, perhaps, its original form and the faces were carved out during Sunga-Kushana period. In the phallic world all the Sun-gods—Priapus, Baccus, Osiris, Hermes and Seti were worshipped by their Lingas. In this region there was Nataraja who was also worshipped with his erected penis.

From the artistic point of view, the Mukhalinga was there prior to Nataraj image of 4th century A.D. This Mukhalinga was the replica of Koti-linga, which, as N.N. Basu thinks, has given rise to Kuting, the name of a place, in Kotsari Praganna of Mayurbhanj district. The place also refers to Kottasrama off Ganadanda Virabhadra. Many scholars identify Kottasrama of Ganadanda Virabhadra with Kotah in Rajasthan. However, Koting and Kotah might have been derived from Koti-linga. In the Indus Valley there was a Supreme God with oval marks. There were Kotsvara Lingas in Kotah and Mewar of Rajasthan. Moreover, James Tod clarifies that these Mukhalingas of Rajasthan were the creations of Jits of Juteland, Central Asia. The Koti-linga was primarily Ka-Linga, but the association of Ganadanda Virabhadra with it signifies its transition which might have been taken place during Sunga-Kushana period.

We will find trace of Virabhadra in the description of pilgrimage of Yudhisthira in the Mahabharata, Vana Parva. Lomasa speaks about Kalinga that in the northern bank of Vaitarani there were hermitages. Once while the hermits were performing sacrifice, Rudra had taken away his share of offerings (Vana Parva, Ch. 114.6-8). This description coincides with the devastation caused by Virabhadra in the sacrifice of Dakṣa. The description of Lomasa indicates the presence of Ganadanda Virabhadra and for this, the man was later, known as Virabhadra. It means he was known throughout Udraviṣaya laying in the Northern Bank of Vaitarani and Udraviṣaya, then, was extended to the Southern Bank of Vaitarani. From the remark on Srirama Kasyapa of Pistapur of S.N. Rajguru, "(he has) ousted the Matharas from Sakala-Kalinga and advanced their sway as far north as the Vaitarani at Viranjanagar", it is not known exactly if Virajanagar was in the northern bank of Vaitarani, but a reading of it with the travelling report of Huen-Tsang may lead to the fact that the Northern Bank of Vaitarani was included then into Udraviṣaya. Of course, the location of Vaitarani near Virajangan is a matter of controversy. This writer has taken care to locate it in his Akhandalamani Itivrutta. To the West side of Jaipur, Vaitarani has been bifurcated; one is called Buddha Vaitarani and the other Vaitarani. A few miles away, from the place of their bifurcation, there is *Olāsuni Thākuranī* near by Buddha Vaitarani. Olāsuni is no other than Odāsuni, the cult-spot of Udra tribe. It is peculiar that the deity was recognised as Buddhist deity during medieval period. We will look into its feasibility later.

In connection with the pilgrimage of Yudhisthira, Lomasa speaks about a Bedi. Svayambhuvamanu donated the land to Kasyapa, for which it sunk down out of remorse. Seeing this Manu prayed her and she came out. Many scholars identify it with Puri according to the description (Vana Parva, Ch. 115). In the present position the land between two Vaitaranis fits into the description of the Mahabharata. There is no such place at Puri. Whatever, truth may be there in the description of the Mahābhārata on

pilgrimage, but the sinking down of the Earth out of remorse has worth to connect the condition with Rudra and Gaṇaḍaṇḍa Virabhadra. The condition indicates the period when there was no proprietary authority over the land in the Virajanagar of any king or Manu. This period is the dark period following the Kalinga War of Asoka.

In this background, the antiquity of Udra viṣaya, of the transformation of Ka-Linga into Śivalinga and of emerging of Gaṇaḍaṇḍa Virabhadra may be assigned to the period following the Kalinga War of Asoka. The development of Śiva cult during the medieval period has been so influenced and mutilated by the Buddhism that it always gives the airs of Buddhism.

7

Kanappan

Among the lovers of Śiva, Kanappan holds a unique place in the hearts of Tamil-speaking people—so perfect an example does he provide of the glory of true *bhakti*, an aspect of his life which we have stressed in the third chapter. This simple young hunter chieftain, only sixteen years of age, had been brought up in the forests and taught hunting, fishing and other arts necessary for survival in that wild environment. His tribe worshipped a patron goddess whom they propitiated with animal sacrifice before each major hunt. Kanappan knew nothing whatsoever of Brāhminic traditional worship, or of the rituals observed in the temples. When he first entered the Śiva shrine at the top of the Kalahasti hill, it just did not occur to him that there could be any objection to his walking into the sanctum of Śiva with sandalled feet. Nor did he realise that the purity of offerings to the Lord would be defiled if the flowers were carried in his own locks, or the pork tasted before it was offered. Out of the great depth of love that seized and overwhelmed him when he first set eyes on Śiva, he knew only that the Lord should have good food and so he tasted the pork to ensure it was roasted to perfection. And since the Lord would need water, it was necessary to carry it up the hill; with his hands full and with no suitable container at hand, he quite happily carried the water in his own mouth!

The officiating Brāhmin priest was deeply perturbed to find animal bones in the sanctum. He reconsecrated the shrine but to his horror he found the bones in the sanctum again the next morning. This one for some time and one might the priest hid himself in the temple to see who was desecrating the Lord's shrine. He saw the unorthodox behaviour of the hunter-devotee and realising that this attitude was being condoned and the non-brahmanical offerings accepted, he protested to Śiva. The Lord, however, decided to demonstrate the depth and sincerity of Kanappan's devotion and instructed the Brāhmin priest to remain hidden. Knowing that Kanappan would not fail to respond to the severest test, Śiva caused the eye of the Linga to bleed. Overcome with grief and anxiety, Kanappan went in search of rare herbs and applied all the remedies with which he was familiar. When everything failed, it suddenly occurred to him that he might be able to replace the bleeding eye with his own eye. With a sharp arrowhead, he plucked out his eye and offered it to Śiva and danced with joy when he saw that the cure worked.

To test Kanappan even further, Śiva caused the second eye of the *linga* to bleed. Kanappan did not hesitate a moment; he prepared to pluck out his own second eye, raising his sandal-clad foot and resting it against the second eye of the *linga* to mark the exact spot. He did not stop to think that this would blind him totally, nor did it occur to

him that it was sacrilegious to lay a sandal-clad foot on the head of the Śiva *liṅga*. How else could he save his beloved Lord's sight ? At this stage, Śiva intervened, and addressing him as Kanappan ('He of the eyes'), the Lord gave him back his eyes and showered his grace upon the hunter.

Since Kanappan's intense *bhakti* was extolled by the seventh-century saints Appar and Sambandar, the hunter-saint must be placed in the previous century. Kanappan's love of Śiva became legendary, and Manikkavachakar, last of the *Nalvar*, lauded him thus:

Love like Kanappan's he did not find in me;
Yet, my Lord, by my own measure
graciously accepted me too.

Even Adi Sankara glorified the illiterate hunter in a verse in his *Śivanandalahari*, already quoted in the third chapter. The fame of the hunter-saint spread beyond the Tamil country and the later Telugu poet Srinatha made Kanappan the central figure of his poem *Haravilasani*.

Kanappan's story inspired both bronze casters and stone sculptors who produced several striking portrait images of the hunter-saint. Clearly, the artists were not bound by the restrictions applying to the production of images of the *Muniar* or *Nalvar*, and the figures are individualised and creative. One of the earliest and finest of such images comes from the Tiruvenkadu hoard. Poised gracefully, the sandalled hunter wears a short skirt-like garment and his hair is arranged in a formation of matted locks. Bearded face tilted to one side, he displays a sightless socket from which he has just plucked out his eyeball, which he holds in his outstretched palm as an offering to Śiva. Cast around AD 1000, this superb bronze is one of the most imaginative representation of this saint.

Most portrayals of Kanappan depict him with palms joined in salutation, carrying bow and arrow and his hair arranged in a top-knot. Kanappan is always shown wearing sandals; in India holy men and sages are depicted with bare feet, Kanappan being the sole exception. A mid-eleventh-century image from the Tiruvalankadu shrine depicts the boyish young hunter with a quiver slung on his back, standing in a pose of adoration with palms joined together in worship. It is close to the spirit of the original story of Kanappan, depicting him as the sixteen years old youth that he was at the time of his conversion to Śiva. The twelfth-century Chōla temple at Darasuram contains more than one large stone image of Kanappan. In typical hunter's garb, with sandalled feet and top-knot, Kanappan has a quiver of arrows on his back and holds the bow in the crook of his arm. These stone figures depict him as a mature bearded hunter, as in fact do the majority of later bronzes.

The story of Kanappan is told in relief panels on the walls of several temples. The most popular mode was to depict the hunter with one sandalled foot raised and placed against the *liṅga* to mark the location of the bleeding eye, as he prepared to pluck out his own eye with a sharp arrow. The Śiva temple at Kovilpatti (Tirunelveli district), contains a stone sculpture in the round in this mode; here an arm extends from the Śiva Liṅga to

prevent Kanappan from plucking out his second eye. On top of the Kalahasti hill, the site of Kanappan's original Śiva Linga, there stands today a modern structure glorifying the legend of Kanappan. The ancient Śiva temple at the foot of the hill has a magnificent set of sixty-three Nayanmars. These superb fifteenth-century bronzes are unique in that each of the sixty-three saints carries an identifying feature; the image of Kanappan in particular is a graphic visualisation. Though the high order of Kanappan in particular is a graphic visualisation. Though the high order of Kanappan's *bhakti* was universally acknowledged, he was rarely worshipped on his own, and in this connection it is interesting to note the existence of a twelfth-century inscription in the temple at Tiruvalanjuli which records a gift of land to the image of *tirukanapan-devar*.

8

Kāraikkālammaiṃyār

Kāraikkālammaiṃyār (the Lady of Kāraikkāl), one of the earliest of the Śaivite mystics of the Tamil country, lived in the middle of the sixth century A.D., a date before that of any of the *Tēvāram* mystics. From the account of her life as given by Sēkkilār in his *Periyapurāṇam*, and from her writings themselves, we know that she led a life entirely dedicated to Śiva worship, even during her married life. What distinguished her from any other worshipper of Śiva was that she was so overpowered by God that she was moving in a world of her own, gifted through Śiva's grace with the subtle body of a demon (*pēy*), living God, delighting in him, revelling in the bliss of the supreme love of God; that the worldless acquainted with the ways of the mystics deemed her a possessed woman; and that this ridicule in no way troubled her. Whatever be the credibility of the story of her life, it is a fact that she has left for posterity three treatises: the *Arputalliruvantāṭi*, the *Tiruvirattai maṇimālai*, and the *Tiruvālaikāṭṭu mūḷa tiruppaatikam*, which testify that she was no ordinary mystic of *bhakti*, for they contain an apprehension of the love of God which is peculiarly profound and pure.

The description she gives of the experience of her love to God brings out very powerfully the main characteristics of the nature of true and genuine love for God as she understood and practised it.

She proclaims that love of Śiva has absorbed her whole life; it is an unending chorus, this love that gave meaning and purpose to her life.

Ever since I was born and learnt to lisp,
I reached thy feet with ever growing love (*Kāṭaṭ*).
O God of gods with throat shining blue,
When wilt thou deliver me from pain [of birth].

She loves Śiva not for any hope of reward but for his own sake. This kind of pure love, discounting any return or the efforts made in loving God, is hardly met with elsewhere among the *bhakti* cults of India. It is certainly very far from the type of *bhakti* which entails a 'do ut des' contract.

Even if he were not to deliver me from pain [of birth.]
nor to show me mercy (*iraṇṭa*) nor the path to follow—my heart
will never cease to love (*anpu*) him whose form is light.

and who dances in flame, adorned with skulls.

The saint proclaims her undivided and wholehearted love for god Śiva.

We are ready to undergo even seven births for his sake.
 But our love (*anpu*) is to none but to him;
 we dedicate ourselves to no one but to him
 whose coral braids are crowned with buds.
 Were it not to see (*kaṇṭu*) thee, pay to thee (*iraiñci*), and serve (*Kaippaṇi*) thee,
 I would not want to obtain heaven (*aṇṭam*);
 before the moon, the ruler of the sky, and the seven worlds.
 Oh my dear ! this is my purpose.

The mystic prays for the grace of loving god always, whether in the birthless and timeless state of final deliverance or in the state of birth.

I pray thee for undying love (*iravāḍa anpu*); I pray thee
 for the birthless state (*piravāmai*); but were I to be born again,
 for the grace of never forgetting (*maravāmai*) thee;
 still more do I pray to be at thy feet singing joyfully while thou dancest.

Love of God should be the *leitmotif* of every form of Śiva worship. It is this loving worship that makes one a genuine devotee of śiva. What is remarkable in the following passages is the personal way in which the mystics conceive of the relation between the devotee and God? She calls God *entai* (my Father), *nam iṣan* (our Lord). Personal dedication to God and a concrete way of expressing one's love and loyalty are clearly manifest in phrases such as *anpāy nāmōr arivinaiyē parrināl* (If we hold on to the contemplation of God with love), *entaiyārkkāṭceyyum* (to make oneself dedicated to our Father), *cintaiyarkuḷḷa cerukku* (Love as the proud possession of the bhaktas).

Bowing (*paṇintum*) offering flowers (*pōḷāl aṇintum*) at the feet of the lord
 with matted hair and praising (*yēṭṭa*) him,
 loving always my Father with total dedication (*āṭceyya*):
 this is what makes his devotees' (*cintaiyar*) pride.

again.

Strewing our Lord's golden Feet
 with garlands of praises (*nāmālai*) and flowers (*pūmālai*)
 If we worship with love (*anpāy*) in one mind and heart (*ōr arivinaiyē parrināl*),
 how will the darkness of action afflict us ?

God is ever ready to offer his grace; to desire and follow the path of love is to win his favour.

Adopting the path of love leading to God (*pirāṇatan*),
praying for his great grace (*pēraruḷ*) if you ask:
Where does he dwell, I say: Here, in the hearts (*cintai*)
of people like me poor, he is easy of access to the seers (*Kāṇpār*).

God's grace takes form and shape in proportion to the quality of devotion. The greater the love, the greater his grace. If we love him with external worship, he appears to us an idol residing in the temple. To the lower who has become so by internal acts of initiation, and through spiritual development, he takes the form of a *guru*. To the follower of the supreme path of love, he is Love itself.

Let alone that the undiscerning versed in bookish learning say
about the nature (*nirmāi*) of the blue-necked God.
As the shape (*kāḷam*), form (*uruvu*), ways of worship (*taṇam*) one adopts,
so is the shape and form [of his grace]

The supreme path of love liberates devotees from the evil of action and rebirth and enables them to attain Śiva's blissful feet.

Henceforth we [truly] live; we have reached God's (*iraivan*) feet;
henceforth no more sorrow, O my heart !
Now have we crossed the sea of unending birth
that has been caused by the sea of action.

The object of the supreme love is God, not so much as existing outside the earnest lover but rather as residing in the heart of hearts. The mystics experiences the presence of God the divine lover inwardly, and feels his intimate contact in the depth of her own being.

Let people say: he (God) dwells in heaven;
he lives in Indra's abode; as they please.
But I do declare: The [all] [wise] [Lord] (*nānattān*) whose
throat is dark with poison dwells in my heart (*neṇcam*).

God by his grace takes his abode in the heart not merely as the sustainer and ruler but as the lover in union with the beloved.

It is the Lord's (*ican*) grace (*aruḷ*) that rules the universe;
it is the grace that cuts the coil of birth;

it is by his grace that I gaze at true reality (God) (meypporul);
let God be always everything to me.

I cherish my kind Father, my Lord (*icam*),
in my heart (*naṇam*) as the sweet object of my love;
I possess him as Lord (*virāṇ*) and this possession makes me rejoice.
What else is there then that is rare to obtain for me ?

Finally, the mystical experience itself to this divine love is explained by Kāraikkālammaiār as the vision of God in the form of bright light, or rather as the revelation of God himself as light to the soul that intensely loves him. The possibility and the nature of this experience depend upon supreme love of God and not any mere knowledge of God. A more accurate interpretation of the mystic's mind would be that its supreme knowledge (*intuitus mysticus*) of God is the outcome of the supreme love itself by which the union between God and the soul is achieved.

Seers (*Kāṇṇṇār*) can reach him because he is visible;
worshippers (*toluṭe kāṇṇār*) too can see him—but if they possess love (*kāṇṇal*) for him;

Hara who is the first cause (*āṭiyāy*) of the ancient universe
will manifest himself to their mind (*ciṇṇai*) as light (*cōṭiyāy*)?

9

Karaikkāl Ammaiyār

Karaikkāl Ammaiyār after getting spiritual knowledge sang this song *Arputattiru-antāti*. This work consists of 101 verses in the form of *Veṇṇā* in *antāti* style. This song is in simple form and contains deep, vast and refined thoughts. This song is sung by Ammaiyār in her purest state, devoid of worldly passions and removed from worldly body form. Hence all the verses of this book are wonderful in form depicting wonders of Śiva. Because of the specialities of these verses learned elders named this *antāti* work of Ammaiyār as *Arputat-tiruvantāti*. The verses of this poem are melodious, simple and easy to chant. These verses clearly bring out the spiritual knowledge about Lord Śiva which is otherwise difficult to understand. Karaikkāl Ammaiyār was happy in getting the form of the ghost. Having seen god while remaining in the ghostly form granted by him, fully absorbed in contemplating Śiva's graceful forms, she sang these verses wondering at his marvels. Ammaiyār herself refers to this thought in a verse of this poem.

Even if I can get I don't want any other form:
Whether this form fits me or not—this form without charm:
Slightly revealing having another eye on His forehead
That god's good ghost here-to be one to it, I am led.

(A.T. 86)

To become a devout slave of Śiva and to attend on his devotees were mission of her life. Ammaiyār had firm belief in this mission as capable of leading all souls in righteous *path*. She herself followed this *path*.

Tiru—Irattai Maṇi Mālai

It is natural that those who believe in God, think of God when confronted by miseries in worldly life. If any devotee with the feeling of uniting with God meditates on the sacred feet of God, he will get relief not only from miseries of this present life but also will be saved from having re-birth. This is the general principle of this poetic work.

Moreover this song describes the glories of God. Removing sins and saving lives—this is the grace of Lord Śiva. It is the devotee's duty to reach him and get salvation.

So advising her heart, she makes this known to the world. This is the core of this song. *Iraṭṭai Maṇi Mālai*.

In this song Ammaiyār in the mode of remarking to her own heart, actually tells all souls seeking God's great grace. "My heart ! Before past deeds overwhelm you, without delay and without haste meditate on Lord Śiva who has Umai as half of his body, who killed Yama, and who has smeared on him white ash. Past deeds surrounding you and affecting you are certain to produce their effects. Thinking of God after being affected by Karma is impossible. Hence before past deeds start affecting, thinking of God must commence. Here the phrase 'He is with Umai' refers to the mercy of God; killing Yama refers to his power and white ash refers to eternity.

Though we are affected by our past deeds, if we see even the shade of the devotees of the saints who always think of Lord Śiva unaffected by *Karma*, we shall be saved from effects of evil deeds. Evil thoughts and deeds cannot stand before such devotees. When this is so, if we worship with flowers in hand, Lord Śiva who has golden coloured sacred body without any equal to him, will our past deeds stand ? No. They will disappear. So worshipping Lord Śiva and serving devotees' of God are the ways to get rid of the effects of the past deeds. So says Ammaiyār. With this thought occupying her mind, Ammaiyār even when she was leading earthly life with her husband she was thinking of Śiva unceasingly and serving Śaivite saints.

Embracing Slavery doing Service: In another stanza Ammaiyār says, 'My heart! It at any time effects of past deeds effect you, when miseries assail you, do not get tightened, continuing to lead a fatigued sorrowful worldly life. Instead of this constantly meditate of Lord Śiva without getting tired and worship him who wears Ganges flowing ceaselessly fast in flood, the crescent and white madar flower.'

When miseries of past deeds tightened.
Let not heart be fatigued and frightened.
Flowering fast in flood ganges, Crescent moon,
Madar flower—with these on head Śiva is seen.

(I.M.M. 1)

Worshipping him untired, let heart be keen. In this verse, Madar flowers worn on head refers to the removal of sorrow; ganges and crescent moon refer to making of happiness. Serving God is the way of removing worldly passion. Sorrow cannot touch such people.

Without getting depressed by a sense of our unworthiness, if we think of Śiva, He will save us from rebirth. He will remove the sorrows of those who worship him with constant love. He is the Supreme God who is capable of saving such devotees.

Mūṭta Tirup Paṭikam: (Divine Verses of Tiro-Ālaṅkāṭu)

Divine verses of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār are called old verses by tradition. Divine

verses coming under the classification *patikam* are called *Mūṭṭa Tirup patikams*, old decades, because they are early *patikams* in chronological order.

As per boon granted in *Tirukkailai* to see the cosmic dance and sing under the sacred feet of Lord Śiva. Ammaiyār reached *Tiru Alaikāṭu* by walking on her head. She offered worship at that place surrounded by banyan trees. There ghosts sing, dance and enjoy as they pleased. She also saw God's divine dance along with the ghosts. The dance of Śiva alongwith the ghosts and the old forest full of banyan trees by name *Tiru Ālaikāṭu* are described in the two *Mūṭṭa Tirup patikams* sung by Ammaiyār.

In the very first verse of first *patikam* Ammaiyār speaks about herself. Hale and healthy body having become lean, nerves of the body bulging, eyes sunk, two white teeth projecting, belly as long cavity, red hair, long legs—such a demoness as myself coming, staying and shouting in joy to see God's dance in a forest, where dance covering all eight directions Holding fire in his hand, yet, His body cool, our Father dances and the place is called by name *Tiru Ālaikāṭu*.

"Breast fallen, nerves bulging,
Eyes sunk, stomach hollow,
White teeth with two projecting,
Heels raised, ankles lengthening.
In dry forest she-ghost staying and screaming;
Hanging hair eight sides waving
Body cooling, holding fire on hand dancing
Our Father in *Tiru Ālaikāṭu* abiding.

(M.T. 1-1)

In this verse 'holding fire' refers to 'destruction' and the phrase 'body cooling' refers to the grace of God.

In the following stanzas she depicts the nature of the place *Tiru Alaikāṭu* and the ghosts living there in.

Stretching their legs between the divided branches of spurge plant, demons powdering burnt wood and taking out collyrium and putting on their eyes, with loud laughing they jump across. At that time feeling the heat of fire of burning corpses, they got angry and threw sand on the fire to quench it. There the dry seeds of *Sirrisa* tree (*vākai*) which belongs to desert region make noise when the wind blows. In the dark mid-night birds like *āyṭalai* and *Kūkai* sing and owl jumps over the creeper *ēkai* spurge plants spread their shade. This in the nature of the desert place where corpses are buried or burnt.

In such a place, foxes dig and take out the food from the deep *homakundam*, pit of sacred fire and eat. Ghosts on seeing this and regretting that they have not seen this before run clapping their hands.

In that place on one-side, a demoness wearing garland of skulls around her neck having eaten meat, names her child as *Kāḷi* after the name of the goddess of forest, brings

up the child with kind care and feeds it with milk and goes out. The child ghost not seeing its mother return weeps and falls asleep.

Ghosts with bow-legs, with long nails and hard feet in forest where birds eagle, owl, *kūkai*, *pakaṇṭai* lay eggs, where foxes roam about, joining female ghosts beating their backs, turn over the buried corpses.

Foxes jumping on one side, with scorching eyes will o' the wisp making *luṇaṭṭikai* dance runs and takes out the burning corpses and eat their flesh.

Those people in towns and country side who have led honest law abiding lives, are buried in the cemetery after death. As soon as the ghosts see this burial, they go and surround the corpses.

In the midst of these ghosts there are some which are good in singing and playing instruments beautifully. They sing with seven musical notes namely *tuttam*, *Kaikkilāl*, *Vilari*, *tāram*, *ulai*, *iḷi*, *ōcai* and some of the ghosts play the musical instruments made out of skin and strings like *caccarai*, *Kokarai*, *takkai*, *takuṇṭam*, *tuntupi*, *tālam*, *viṇai*, *mattalaṁ*, *karatṭikai*, *tamaruam*, *kuṭa-mulā* and *montai* beautifully with fast rhythms.

Kiṭṭi and *kin* do the last rites for the dead body of their beloved with much sorrow, light the fire to burn the corpse. This fire serves as light for the singing and dancing of the ghosts. Because of excessive joy some of the ghosts of Lord Śiva play musical instruments, *pakaṇṭai* dances and fox howls as per dancing of *pakaṇṭai*. The howling sound of fox is like the sound of musical instrument *yāl*. *Tiru-Alaṅkāṭu* is set against such a background.

Ammaiyār brings out the natural surroundings of this forest as well as the different postures of the dances of Lord Śiva in the above said verses.

In the first few stanzas, she describes Lord Śiva's dances, which fill all directions. She says that he dances holding fire in his hand and with cold-body. Here dancing with cold-body refers to his grace during re-appearance of the cosmos, *punarurpavam* and dancing with fire refers to destruction *saṁhāra*.

"Except Śiva there is no God
To such thinking devotees He'll nod
Such devotees who always worship
Won't have re-birth, hardship"

(I.M.M. 2)

So my heart ! even those who live with all riches in this world will one day die. When they die, their relatives will put the bodies on piled drywood and burn them. Hence before reaching that state, you ask with desire and devotion for the grace of Lord Śiva, embodiment of all truth, Śiva who drank sea-poison to save *Devīs*.

Essence of this Poem

When confronted by miseries of past deeds, one should not get frightened and

fatigued. Worship God unceasingly and unwearied. Without his order nothing will happen. Lord will save from re-birth, those who worship him always. Those who chant the sacred five letters of his name *Na-Ma-Si-Vā-Ya* who is leader of all Vedās will attain his flowery feet. Effects of past deeds will cease to effect those who attend on devotees of God. We can see such fruitful and meaningful advices of Ammaiṃyār in this song.

With afore-said thoughts and faith, Kāraikkāl Ammaiṃyār worshipped God calling him as Ican and praising him as the God of gods, and revealing his nature of showering grace to his devotees. Ammaiṃyār sings about the grace she received from him who is her Lord and who guides the world to proceed on the right path.

In another stanza she says that Lord uses the forest as the stage, standing on the mystic syllable-arch like 'ōm' and dances bending, circling and coming back to the same place and stretches one of his legs as if to touch the heaven.

He dances according to the seven musical notes sung by the ghosts and to the rhythmic sound of different musical instruments played by the ghosts. His anklet tinkles when he dances gracefully to the rhythmic sound of the drum played by the celestials.

Dancing form of God is present everywhere but only a few places have the gift of recognising this and witnessing the dance receive its benefits. One of those places is *Tiru-ālankātu*. The unique form of dance seen there is God lifting one leg upwards to the heaven as if he is showering his grace on the Devās. Here the word *aṇṭam* refers to the world of celestials. Here we can recall *Tiru-murikārruppatai* describing Lord Kuruka's hands, says.

"Viṇcelal marapiṃ ayyark Kēṇṭiyatu Oru Kai."

When Lord Śiva danced with goddess Kālī, to defeat her in dancing, he lifted one leg and danced. This is common belief in devotional history. *Tirumantiram*, the tenth Śaiva *tiṃmurai* says,

"Danced with Kālī, danced in *Kānakacalam*
Dances with ghost; dances on *Kutalayan*"

(Tirumantiram 9.98)

In these lines the word '*Kānakācalam*' refers to golden hall of *Citanparam* where as the word '*Kutalayan*' refers to the earth. Here it stands for *Tiru-ālankātu*. Lord Śiva guided Kāraikkāl Ammaiṃyār who desired to have the ghost form and to stay where he dances with the ghosts.

Substance of the Patikams

Ammaiṃyār with her ghostly form, as directed by Lord Śiva reaches *Tiru Alankatu* journeying from Tiruk-Kailai. There she sees the dried forest and Lord Śiva dancing gracefully surrounded by the goblins, to the rhythmic notes of music and musical

instruments. His place of dancing is cremation-ground. Among the ghosts living there are female ghosts and baby-ghosts. Jackals live there. Owls like *Kūkai āṁtai* song. Different types of demon join together run, sing, dance and enjoy to their best. A horde of demons sing according to the seven musical (notes and play different types of musical) instruments. Lord Śiva with a joyful mind dances in this burning ground, called *Tiru alaikāṭu*.

10

Kashmiri Śaivism

In the early medieval period a new dynasty called Karakotak, after the name of a mythical serpent mentioned in the Mahābhārata came into power. It ruled over the valley for about two and a half century, with the ascendance of Durlabhavardhan on the throne in 602 A.D. The most illustrious king of this dynasty was Lalitāditya Muktapīda who ruled over Kashmir for about four decades (71-755 A.D.). He extended the boundaries of his territory far and wide and improved the economic and academic conditions by adding wealth and intelligentsia to his kingdom. He was the first Hindu king who invaded Tibet and Turkistan. Kalhana has described his *digvijaya*, which is also confirmed by the Chachanāmā, a contemporary foreign account of the conquest of Sindha. In a letter addressed to Mohammed Kasim by Dāhar, Lalitāditya is described as a powerful king of Kashmir on whose royal threshold other rulers of Hindu have placed their heads, who sways the whole Hind, even the countries, of Makran and Turan. To extend his territory towards south-east, he attacked Kannauja. Even Turkistan was not spared. Alberuni's account also corroborates it. The Muttai of his text, according to Buhler is Muktapīda, 'who ruled over the whole world.'

Extension of Kashmir territory to south-east up to Kannauja and subjugation of Turkistan played a major role in formulating the economic as well as religio-cultural history of Kashmir. Another king who requires notice is Jayapīda the grand son of Lalitāditya. He was famous for his scholarship and martial qualities. In his time different branches of learning, were give due importance study of grammar, poetics, literature etc. was revived. Scholars from all over India were invited and patronised by this great king. Consequently, Kashmir became famous as a seat of learning. Euoligting him, Kalhana says that there was a famine of intelligentsia in other parts of India. Thus during the reign of the Karkotaka dynasty, Kashmir enjoyed great political power. Peace and prosperity reigned every where. Under this dynasty Kashmir became famous for learning. Many noted scholars, such as Kshira and others, in the field of Sanskrit literature and grammar belonged to this period.

Another dynasty which requires reference is Utpal dynasty. Avantiverman ascended the throne in 855 A.D. and founded this new dynasty after the name of his grand father Utpal, who was the first minister of the tottering dynasty of Karokotak. With the help of his able minister, Suyya, Avantiverman brought acres of land under cultivation. The valley under his reign enjoyed economic prosperity. Once more the cause of learning was given due place. His minister Sura honoured scholars by offering seats in the royal

places. Once more Kashmir regained its old fame as a seat of learning. His son Sankarverman succeeded his father in 884 A.D. and brought under subjugation neighbouring territories. Thus the boundary of Kashmir was extended up to Punjab and Kalul. He made Darads on the east and Turushkas on the west to bow before him. He ruled up to 902 A.D.

In early 10th century, Yaskara founded a new dynasty. In his time Hindu religion was restored and sacrifices were performed. During his reign peace and prosperity was every where. Security arrangements were so good that people slept with open doors and travellers moved without the fear of being robbed. People were busy in their professions and Brahmins devoted their time in academic pursuits. This was a period of peace and prosperity, but may be called the climax of Hindu rule.

Actually after the death of Sankarverman a general degradation in almost all fields could be seen. Social, economic, moral and literary conditions suffered a great set back in the hands of the rulers of Lohar dynasty. Ministers were corrupt and kings and queens were sensual. Lust for political power led to patricide. People became superstitious and Tantric practices were followed to achieve the desired goal. Such conditions led to disintegration and demoralisation of the people which paved the way for foreign rule.

In the field of religion, early medieval period saw the revival of Brāhmanism not only in the valley but all over India. The foregoing period was of religious tolerance. Different religions flourished side by side, and rulers were sectarian. Aśoka, a follower of Buddhism, also encouraged Brāhmanism. Similarly in South India, the Satavahanas, who followed Brāhmanism, had a tolerant attitude towards Buddhism. But early medieval period saw the revival of old faith. People became conscious of their glorious past and revived the Purāṇic religion. One of the religions cult which became very popular in northern India at this time was the Śaiva cult. From inscriptions it is clear that majority of Cahadwala, chedi, Chandella and Orissa were styled as '*Parama maheśwara*.' Several rulers dedicated their kingdoms either to Śaiva or Śaiva ascetics. Even in other parts of the country this cult was popular Madhya Pradesh, Varanasi, Mathura, Sthaneshwara, Ujjain, Mahishwari (M.P.) and Kannanja were the main centres of Śaivism. Images of Umā-Maheśwara, Kalyāṇa-sundara and Ardhanārāśwara found in Kannauja corroborate the fact. In Kashmir also this period is important from the religious point of view. From the accounts given by Kalhana and also accorded by inscriptions, it was a time of religious fervent.

The kings of the Karkotak dynasty who ruled for 254 year from 602 A.D. to 856 A.D. over Kashmir, were the worshippers of Śiva a religious cult popular at that time among the Hindu all over India and quite ancient in Kashmir. the immigration of scholars from various parts of the country in general and from Kannanja in particular affected the religious life of Kashmir, during medieval period. King Lalitāditya brought many scholars from outside Kashmir, whom Atrigupta, the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, requires special mention. He lived in Antarvedi, in the reign of king Yashovarman of Kannauja. He was a great scholar of various branches of learning and śaiva tantra in particular. Being impressed by his scholarship, King Lalitāditya brought the whole

family of Atrigupta to Kashmir. The family members of Atrigupta were also highly educated and staunch devotees of Śiva. Narshingh Gupta, alias Chukhul, the father of Abhinavagupta, was equal in scholarship to his father. The whole family says Abhinavagupta, regarded worldly belongings as insignificant as straw before the devotion of Śiva. Madhuraja, a South Indian, who became student of Abhinavagupta, eulogises him as the incarnation of Lord Dakṣiṇā Mūrti.

Construction of temples of various Puranic deities continued even during the reign of Utpal dynasty which ruled over the valley for nearly half a century with the ascendance of Avantīnerman on the throne in 855 A.D. Though he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava yet he built temple of Śiva. He was also influenced by Buddhism as he practiced non-violence.

At the time of Sankarverman's rule (88-902 A.D.) Hindu Shaṭiya Dynasty was ruling over Kabul and Gandhara. Its founder was Lalhiya Shahi. These Shahi's were the believers in Brāhmanical religion as is clear from the inscription of Bhīm (Lahore Museum). The mark of bumped bull on coins of this time corroborate the fact. The 9th century is important in the religious history of Kashmir as great Brāhmanical activities were taking place in its neighbourhood in Gandhara town and temples at Kalar were built by Kalar himself. Most probably he is Lalhiya Shahi of Kalhana's Rāj Tarāṅgiṇī. Not only Kalar, but the entire area of the Salt Range has antiques belonging to the second half of the 9th century. The art of temple building and icon making of Kashmir could not escape the influence of Gandhara art flourishing at that time in the vicinity. The similes used by Kalhana for Lalhiya Shahi of Udabhandpur at the time of contest with Sankarverman are noteworthy as they throw of flood of light on the religious conditions of that time. He is compared with Āryāvarta, lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains, in whose town of Udabhandha other kings took shelter just as mountains took refuge in the ocean when threatened by Indra. Other Similes such as Sun-disc and Śrīmān used for him by Kalhana clearly show the respect and prestige he acquired in the domain of religion. Even coins with horseman and bull originated with Brāhmin Shahis.

With Shahi-war a new era began in Gandhara-Kashmir relations which affected the religion and religious act of the Valley. Bhīma Shahi's father adopted a friendly attitude toward Kashmir, while Bhīma established matrimonial relations of his grand daughter Didda with Kashmir king Kshemagupta. The coins issued in his time and temples erected by Bhīma in Kashmir are conspicuous of the impact of Gandhara on Kashmir.

Though a general degradation had set in every walk of life, still the religious fervor continued among the masses till 13th century A.D. People believed in the efficacy of religious observances. For worldly or spiritual gains some kind of religious-performance was needed. Even for begetting a virtuous progeny religious performances were observed. The birth of Abhinavagupta itself is a proof of it.

The political history of Kashmir subsequent to Kalhana was full of turmoil and disintegration. In 1339 Shah Mir deposed queen Kota, the widow of the last Hindu ruler; Islam entered the valley with Shah Mir. Still Śaiva religion had its impact on the minds of the people. We find sage Lalleśwari and Nuruddin as mystic poets of Advait Śaiva philosophy in 14th century.

Before discussing the emergence of Śaiva philosophy, it would be better to throw light on it. Śaivism in general is that system of the Philosophy where in Lord Śiva is regarded as the ultimate reality, from whom the world reality derives its existence. Śaivism is of three kinds dualistic, dualistic-cum-non-dualistic and monistic. These various forms of Śaiva philosophy have been prevalent in various part of the country. All the three forms are based on *Śaiva āgamas* and are regarded to be preached on earth by three mental sons, *nūnasputra*, of the sage Durvāsā. The Śaiva philosophy which emerged in Kashmir in early medieval period is monistic in nature and Tryambaka, one of the mental sons of Durvāsā, is its propounder. The Śaiva philosophy of the valley is also known as the Kashmir Śaivism because most of its writers belong to Kashmir, though their ancestors came here from outside. Moreover, this system is also confined to the valley, hence it is also called by the said name. It is, also known as *Trika-Śasana* or *Trika-Śastra* or *Rahasya Sampradāya* on the basis of its subject matter and mode of teaching. Since the system discusses *Paśu*, the individual self, *Paṭi* the highest self and *Pāśa*, the bondage, it is called Trika system. Its literature is also of three kind: *Āgama*, *Spanda* and *Prātyabhijñā*, which attribute the said name to it. In this system recognition of one's real self plays a major role. Hence it is called as the *Prātyabhijñā* system.

The monistic system of Śaivism came into existence in the early medieval period in Kashmir. Its emergence is not an accident in the history of Kashmir. The socio-religious conditions which were prevalent in the valley since time immortal contributed a lot to its birth in the 8th century A.D. Here the purpose is to point factors which led its birth through human agency and not to trace the history of Śaiva philosophy.

According to tradition the Śaiva Āgamas, including monistic Tantras and the Śivasūtra of Vasugupta are regarded eternal like the Vedas, which were imparted to human beings by supernatural agency. Abhinava Gupta has explained this eternity in the *Mālinivijayavārtikā*. According to him creation is of two kinds: speech and objects, *nāyavācaka*. Speech is again of two kinds, divine and human. The Śaivāgamas are divine speech and as such are the grossest manifestation of supreme *vimarśa*. While human speech is the grossest manifestation of individual *vimarśa*. In the *Parātrimsikāvivaraṇa*, the divine speech said to the eternal in the form of *Parāvācaka*, the ultimate cause of vocal speech. Hence the Āgamas appear and disappear but never originate, because they are eternal, with Śiva, the eternal reality. The Śiva Sūtras, falling in the category of Āgamas are stated to be revealed to Vasugupta in 8th century A.D. and not written by him.

There are various views regarding the revelation of these Sūtras to Vasugupta. According to Kallat these aphorisms were taught by Śiva to Vasugupta, residing on Mahādeva Hill in the valley of Harvan stream, which is behind the Shallimar Garden. According to Bhaskar another philosopher of Śaivism, these aphorism were revealed by a Siddha. He also tells the transmission of these *sūtras* through teacher and taught, and he being one of them in the lineage, is writing the commentary called *Śivasūtravārtikā*. Kshemaraja supports the view of Kallat and gives the reason of revelation. Since Vasugupta did not accept the teachings of Nagbodhi, the Buddhist, Siddhas and of other

philosophical systems and was a great devotee of Śiva, the lord unfolded the *sūtras* to him in a dream, so that esoteric traditional teaching may not be lost in the world which was influenced by dualistic philosophy. Here the question of mode of transmitting the *Sūtras* to Vasugupta is not as important as the reason for revealing them. These were revealed to him to counter the effect of dualistic Śaiva philosophy and the teachings of Nagbodhi or Nagarjuna, and other Buddhist teachers, philosophy and the teachings of Nagbodhi or Nagarjuna, and other Buddhist teachers, prevalent in Kashmir at the time of Vasugupta. The Commentary of Kshemaraja on the *Sūtras* clearly throw light on the philosophical thoughts popular at that time. It was a time when *Anātmanāda* of Buddhism and dualistic Śaiva philosophy were getting the upper hand in the intellectual circle of Kashmir.

The Term '*Narabhedavāda*' used by Kshemaraja, probably refers to the Nareshwara Pariksha of Sadyojoti, a work which propounds difference between *nara* i.e. individual self and *Īswara*, the universal self, and refutes the unity of the two. The purpose of Vasugupta is not actually to refute the dualistic interpretation of Śaiva philosophy but to provide correct interpretation to it, which was monistic idealism. The reason is clear. The perception of difference is a common phenomenon, hence it requires no philosophical interpretation, while non-different attitude can only be developed through philosophical insight. The whole incident can be compared with the teaching of the Gītā, to Arjuna by lord Kṛṣṇa, where he not only intends to save the Vedic religion from oblivion but also provides the correct interpretation. The time of Vasugupta can also be fixed as the later part of the 8th century A.D. or the beginning of the 9th century A.D. since he was teacher of Kallat, who flourished in the reign of Avantiverman of Kashmir in the 9th century A.D.

Somananda gives another legendary account of the propagation of Śaivism. In his *Śivadrsti* he tells us that in the beginning the *Śivarahasya* were in the mouth of the Sages. But under the impact of Kali age these repositories of spiritual knowledge disappeared from the world. Consequently, ignorance in the form of darkness enveloped the whole world plunging it in misery. Having pity on the suffering humanity Lord Śiva as Śrikatḥa appeared on the Katlāsa mountain and ordered Sage Durvāsā to spread the knowledge in the world contained in the *Śāstras*. The sage created three mental sons to spread it. Being detached by nature, they took recluse in the mountaneous cave. The process of creating sons continued till the fifteenth son called Sangamaditya, an extrovert, got married with a Brahmin girl and came to settle down in Kashmir. It is in his family that Somananda the founder of Pratyabhijña system was born in the later half of the 9th cent. A.D.

Now the question is why the Śiva *Sūtras* were revealed in the 9th cent A.D. or Somananda appeared on the scene in the same century? What were the pressing circumstances which led to these scholars to propound a monistic philosophy at that time? The traditional answer may be that whenever there is degradation in society and the existence of *Dharma* is threatened, god incarnates himself to protect the both. On the basis of religious history of Kashmir we can say that in 8th century A.D., *Dharma* that is the Vedic *dharma*, preached by Nila was in danger because of the increasing influence of Buddhism. The Vedic authority was Challenged, sacrifices were stopped and the image

of Purāṇic deities were replaced by the images of Buddha and Bhodhisattvas. The revealed religion was replaced by the created religion. The Buddhist intellectual were trying their best to show that the Vedic religion was shallow and without any logical base. It was mere a blind faith. Under such circumstance, Lord Śiva instead of incarnating himself, appeared in the dream to salvage the eternal religion, the *Saṁdhan dharma*. But a rational and scientific answer lies in the socio-religious conditions in the valley at that time.

As has already been shown in the foregoing pages that the early medieval period in the valley was of economic and intellectual prosperity. Moreover, the Vedic scholars were becoming aware of the harm done by the two heterogeneous systems, especially by Buddhism to the ancient religion and were perturbed by the atrocities inflicted by them. This awareness was taking place not only in Kashmir but all over the country, and efforts were being made to restore the Vedic religion through Purāṇic cult. Thus a kind of religious renaissance was taking place all over the country as is corroborated by historical and archaeological evidences. In Kashmir also the scholars reacted against the atrocities of Buddhist scholars and tried to shake off the imposed religion. These Kashmiri scholars or *Pandits*, were immigrants in the valley from Gandhārth-Kalutistan, Kannoja and even from Telīṅgānā. They were staunch upholders of Vedic religion and in rituals and were well versed in the four Vedas. They could no longer tolerate the harm done intellectually and physically to the people of Kashmir. The common man was conscious of the physical tortures inflicted by the Buddhist but was unamone of the intellectual harm done by them. The proof is that spirit of religions tolerance was found even up to the time of Jonaraja, who pays obeisana to Purāṇic deities as well as to Buddha and Jina.

The common folk and the poets like Jonaraja could not discriminate between the orthodox and the heterodox religions of that time. Absence of reference to monistic Śaivism in the Kuttanmata of Damodaragupta, probably a contemporary of Vasugupta, also indicates that though it emerged against the Buddhist philosophy, yet it was confined to the intellectual circles and was not popular among the masses. Here Ajaya Mitra Sastri is very right when he observes, "It probably indicates that monistic Śaiva philosophy being rather abstruce had not yet attracted the masses who stuck to popular forms of Śaivism". Actually philosophy has always been an exercise of the intellectuals. The common man never took interest in such exercises. He believes in following its applied side or religion and never cared to look into those tents which provide the base of it superstructure.

The Puranic cults, including Śaivism, which entered the valley, in ancient times had philosophical base, which was forgotten in due course. From the accounts given by Somananda and Abhinavagupta in their works, it is evident that Śaiva cult had a philosophical base. It was imparted as a secret doctrine in the closed circle of teacher and taught. But with the passage of time the true philosophy was forgotten cult survived. It is also accorded by literary and archaeological evidences. When the scholars of Buddhism, like Nagarjuna and others started giving a philosophical base to the popular Buddhist religion of Kashmir, the need for reviving the philosophy behind the Śaiva cult

was also felt by the Paṇḍits of Kashmir. The task was undertaken by the learned immigrant Brāhmins. The metaphysical doctrines of Śaiva-cult which were confined to the closed circle of teacher the taught and probably existed even at the time of Buddhism, were given a systematic form by Vasugupta in the 8th century, A.D. He was the first human propounder of Śaiva philosophy, in Kashmir. Since then many more scholars undertook the task of making monistic Śaiva philosophy more logical and perfect. Such efforts continued for nearly four centuries till the Muslim attack.

Capable men, material and the immediate public need are three requisites according to K.C. Pandey for the emergence of a system. All the three things were present in the 8th century when monistic Śaiva philosophy emerged. The monistic Śaiva Tantras, on which the system is based, though had their origin outside the valley were brought to Kashmir by Atrigupta in early 8th century and the fourth ancestor of Sommananda who also came to settle down in the valley at that time. As far as the immediate public need was concerned it was felt when Nagarjuna came to power and started eradicating openly the popular religion and inflicting atrocities on the people. here Kalhana observes. "After defeating in disputation all learned opponents, the enemies of tradition (Nagarjuna and others) brought to an end the rites prescribed in the Nila Purāṇa." This aroused antagonism of Brāhmins. "The versatile Brāhmins of Kashmir," says K.N. Dhar, "did not stop to lick his wounds inflicted by Buddhist propagation, but like a seasoned general attached its weakest part, i.e., the silence about God." Need for a theistic philosophy was felt at that time as recorded by Varadaraja, in the introduction verse of his commentary on the Śiva Sūtra. He observes "When the world was over powered by atheist like Nagabhodhi and others who also refuted the existence of the self and God." The result was that a local Brāhmin called Chandradeva, a descendent of sage Kaśyapa systematised that the teachings of the local religion, which was in a floating condition. He did so because Nala was enraged by the flouting of the traditional customs and religions and had started causing heavy snow fall.

The local religion at that time was Purāṇic religion as is clear from the foregoing pages. But the worship of Śiva in Ardhanārīśwara form predominated as is clear from the account of early kinds given by the Nilamata. Even at the time of religious controversy, the authority of the Nilamata was quoted. The traditional customs, flouted by the Buddhists, were also the rituals prescribed by the Nilamata and the religion systematised by Chandradeva was of Nilamata, which was a polytheistic Puranic religion mixed with local faith. The religion entered the valley with the sons of Manu after the emergence of the valley from the great lake. In other words it could be said that the popular religion of the valley, prior to the entrance of Buddhism was Vedic, which became popular there. But Śiva and his wife occupied an important place in the galaxy of other deities.

Later on Vaiṣṇavism followed by Buddhism also entered the valley. All the three religions were flourishing side by side without any felling of animosity as accorded by the Nilamata and the Rajtaraṅgiṇi. Buhler also accepted it when he observes. In ancient times the prevalent faith in Kashmir was Śaivism, but Buddhas and Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇava too flourished. This resulted in mutual give and take between the Purāṇic religion and the

Buddhism. One provided ritualistic aspect the other philosophy without any support of scriptural authority. The analysis of the situation by K.D. Pandey is worth noticing here. He observes, "Thus there developed a religion which was neither purely Buddhist nor purely Śaivite, but was a harmonious mixture of the meditative and philosophical aspect of the one and the ritualistic aspect of the other, but as such it has no scriptural authority to support it."

The acceptance of monistic Tantras introduced by Atrigupta, with open arms indicates the immediate public need of that time. The Tantras provided a philosophic base to the regional faith. The people of Kashmir, who were trained up to this time in grasping the abstruse philosophical tenets, by Buddhism, took no time to accept the monistic philosophy of these Tantras. Since Tantras were also a part of Vedic literature, as said earlier, the people of Kashmir accepted them to provide philosophical base as well as scriptural authority to their religion. The Tantras, thus satisfied to intellectual need of the people. This led to the popularity of the Tantra in the valley. The Purāṇic Śaivism which was quite popular in the valley assumed the form of Tāntric Śaivism. This gave a fatal blow to the declining Buddhism. The 8th and 9th centuries saw a great upheaval all over India in general and in Kashmir in particular. The Buddhism was on its decline as seen in the earlier page and the old Brahmanism was fast catching up.

With the efforts of Mumārila Bhaṭṭa, in about 750 A.D., the old Brahmanic rituals were revived and the appearance of Āchārya Śaṅkara on the scene, the Vedic philosophy was revived. All this led to the fatal blow to Buddhism in India. Achārya Śaṅkara uprooted the Buddhism during his *digvijaya* from the land of its birth. He also visited the valley in the second decade of the 9th century A.D. to establish Vedic religion after eradicating Buddhism from various parts of India. His monistic idealism, *Advaitavāda*, with its harmonising spirit, provided a format to the prevalent religious faith in the valley. This helped the scholars of Kashmir to evolve a philosophical system out of the religious material available to them at hand, on the pattern of *Advaitavāda*, which resulted in the birth of Kashmir Śaivism or monistic Śaivism.

The philosophy of Śaṅkara not only provided the model but also terminology and concepts. Its good example is Śaṅkara's *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra* and its commentary written by his direct disciple Sureswarācārya when compared with the concepts of the Pratyabhijñā system. Even important philosophical terms are used in similar sense in the Pratyabhijñā system. This led Buller to say "It (Pratyabhijñā philosophy) appears to be a pure idealism, and an application of Śaṅkarāchārya principles to the Śaiva Philosophy."

Śaṅkara was also influenced by the Śaiva Tantra prevalent in the valley at that time. An interesting incident is recorded in the Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and picture gallery, which shows the impact of Śakti cult on him which resulted in the composition of the *Saundaryalahari* by him. Establishing of *Śrīcakra* in some of his *mathas* also testifies the impact of *tantric* practices on him. He was quite conversant with the Tantric literature is clear from the mention of sixty four Tantras in the said poem.

Śaṅkara purged the local religion of the valley of Buddhist element which had

unknowingly entered it. In the words of K.C. Pandey "He purged the local faith of its Buddhist element, strengthened the position of the new Tantric creed, which was brought by the two immigrant and had begun to be accepted by the populace."

It is in these circumstances that Kashmir Śaivism emerged in the later part of the 9th cent. A.D. Vasugupta was the first who gave a systematic form to the philosophic ideas of the monistic in his Śiva-sūtra after the visit of Śaṅkara in the valley. The dream of Vasugupta, related with the revelation of the Sūtras, may be said to be caused by Śaṅkarāchārya, and incarnation of Lord Śiva, for the satisfaction of the followers of tradition.

Vasugupta was quite sensitive to the need of his time. He knew well that though the people of his time had accepted Buddhism at par with Purāṇic religion which resulted in erecting the temples of Purāṇic deities as well as monasteries and images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, yet in their hearts of heart they despised the atheist religion, which negated the existence of self also. Their old *Sanskāras* or impressions, percolated since Vedic times, when challenged, created a vacuum and bewilderment in their minds. Even the monistic philosophy of Śaṅkar, which provided a guide line of systematising their floating religion could not satisfy their devotional need. Hence it was not accepted in totality by the inhabitants of the valley who worshipped various Puranic deities since long. The qualified Brāhman or God, who was a second rate citizen in the realm of Advaita Vedānta, could not satisfy the devotional need of the people. Literature of Kashmir Śaivism is full of such examples where Śaṅkara's *nāyābāda* is criticised for declaring individual, self, the god and the world as illusory. But 'Śaṅkara's model was accepted because it was the logical culmination of philosophical thoughts on one hand and on the other it gave a tool for harmonising the various religious cults. Sūtras such as 'the position of the various systems of philosophy are only various roles of that (consciousness)' are an attempt in this direction. Buhler is right when he observes, "It (Pratyabhijñā system) appears to be a pure idealism and an application of Śaṅkarāchārya's principles to Śaiva philosophy."

From Vasugupta flowed the stream of Kashmir Śaivism. He may be compared to Bhagiratha who brought the divine river Gaṅgā on earth by his penance. Similarly, Vasugupta was the first human being to reveal the mystic science, *rahasyavidya*, for the people of Kashmir. His Śiva sūtras are just like the Brahmasūtra or the Dharma sūtra, written by Badrayana and Jaimini respectively, on which the followers of Kashmir Śaivism wrote commentaries. Thus a tradition came into being. These commentators like Kshemaraja and Varadaraja while commenting on the sūtras quoted profusely from the Tantras not only to support their interpretations but to show that Vasugupta also followed an ancient tradition which had a divine origin. Thus in the history of philosophy the two ācāryas, Śaṅkar and Vasugupta, hold an unique positions as the propounder of Advaita philosophies. They are the fountain heads from whence emerged a continuous stream of monistic thought.

In its journey, Kashmir Śaivism has passed through many vicissitudes. In the beginning it was dualistic in nature as is clear from the accounts of Somananda given in

his Śivadr̥ṣṭi and by Kshemaraja in his commentary. But under changing circumstances dealt above, it became monistic in nature. The Śiva Sūtras are metaphysical and ethical in nature and hence are called also Śaiva Yoga or Śaiva-Samāveśā. They prescribe various methods or rules of conduct *upāyas*, such as Śāmbhava, Śakta and Anu, for achieving the metaphysical truth of life. The line of thought represented by the Sūtras, was developed by two *ācāryas*, Bhatta Kallat and Somananda in two different directions in the 9th cent. A.D. Kallat handed down the doctrine as a system of religion in his Spandakārikā, where emphasis is laid on the intense contemplation for the individual aspirant for the realisation of God, within himself. Somananda on other hand, supplied the logical base to support the identity of individual self and Śiva in his Śivadr̥ṣṭi and thus rendered Śaivism a philosophy in true sense.

Kashmir Śaivism consists of the Krama, the Kula and the Pratyabhijñā systems, all monistic in nature and deal with *Śāmbhava upāya*, *Śāktopāya* and *anu upāya*, respectively. They have their distinct traditions and literature with mythical origin and propagators.

The Kaul system was also prominent in the valley at the time of Śaivism. It also developed the philosophy of words of its own. It drew inspiration from the grammarians as Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya was quite popular in the circle of scholars. The concept of *Śabda Brahman* of the grammarians led Somananda and Utpal to the concept of *Parāvāka*, which was later incorporated in Kashmir Śaivism by all philosophers onwards.

The Kaul system also synthesised between Śaiva and Śakta cults also known as *Dakṣiṇa* and *Vāmanārgas* prevalent simultaneously in the valley. It assigned the origin of the two to the two faces of Śiva called *Vāma* and *Dakṣiṇa* facing north and south respectively. Even Kashmir Śaivism could not overlook it. Consequently, Śakti is accepted here as inseparable from Śiva. It is the very nature of Śiva. In the Śivadr̥ṣṭi this inseparable aspect is highlighted. The composing of the Spandakārikā in the 9th century is a good example of the prevalence of 'Śakti' cult in the valley. Scholars therefore, could not overlook it. They incorporated in Kashmir Śaivism, as two aspects of the same reality. Though they appear to be two substances, *padārthadvaya*, still they are one. The whole world is Śakti while Maheśvara is the repository of Śakti. The same idea is found in the Saundaryalaharī of Śaṅkara, and the use of term '*Sāmarasya*' represents it.

Kaulism thus contributed many things to monistic Śaivism. It is through this system that Śakti cult, the grammarian philosophy and the five 'Ms' were harmonised in the system. The use of five 'Ms' best suited to the geographical conditions of the valley. It did not despise the material aspect of life but tried to sublimate them. It emphasised the spiritual aspect of sex as we also find in the Upaniṣadas. It tried to sublimate an individual in his surroundings. Here an aspirant is expected to raise himself from the level of senses to the spiritual level by identifying himself with the supreme being. A progeny of such a Yogi will also be an inspired soul as is the case with Abhinavagupta. Even sexual interpretation of alphabets is based on the Upaniṣadas is accepted by Abhinavagupta in his based on the Upaniṣadas is accepted by Abhinavagupta in his Tantraloka. Hence Jayaratha while commenting on them profusely quotes the Upaniṣadas to support his views. Thus we see that Kashmir Śaivism follows Tantric interpretation of the Śruti best suited to the time and place of its birth.

11

The Khandoba Cult

Subrahmanya is worshipped in Maharashtra under the name Khandoba or Khandevar, which means 'sword father.' He is the tutelary god of shepherds and is worshipped as a household deity. As Khandoba he is represented as riding a horse and attended by his wife Malashara and a dog. He is also called Mallari for having killed a demon called Malla. The demon used to beat up and ill-treat the Brahmanas, and Jejuri, sixty-two kilometres east of Pune, the place where he killed the demon, has become a famous place of pilgrimage. This is the best known *kshetra* or shrine of Khandoba in Maharashtra. This *Kshetra* at Jejuri consists of two separate shrines, Karhe-pathar and God-Kot. The epigraphical reference to these shrines dates back to the 14th century A.D., according to which the *Garbha-griha* (sanctum sanctorum) was erected in 1381 A.D. by Virpala Virmalla.

God-Kot, like all-Skanda shrines, stands on a hill and has a strong, well-built wall all around it, reminiscent of the ramparts of a fort. There are two flights of steps which lead to the shrine. The eastern one has fallen due to disuse and lack of care and now only the northern one is in use. A large number of *deepmalas*, 350 to be exact, are erected on either side of the steps. There are numerous entrance arches, mostly of the 18th century A.D. of the Maratha period, erected by donations received from the devotees of Khandoba in fulfilment of their vows. Also present at the shrine are a large number of stone slabs bearing human figures. These memorial stones are known as *Virs*, stones commemorating victory.

It was at Jejuri that Shivaji Maharaj met his father Shahaji after a lapse of almost a decade. Shahaji had left his infant son there, to be looked after by people of his Jagir in and around Pune, while he himself was busy fighting in the south.

On the right side of the gate leading to the shrine is an object resembling a Shiva-Linga, around which a niche is built. This monument is known as 'Savalakhachabhunga', i.e. a bee worth a lath and a quarter rupees (Rs. 125,000). There is an interesting story connected with this odd-sounding name. It is said that the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, a fanatic iconoclast, on one of his campaigns conquered the Fort of Daulat Mangal, a hill on which stands the Bhuleshvara temple. From the top of the hill he saw the Khandoba shrine on the Jejuri hill and ordered his army to attack and desecrate it. His soldiers marched into the town, climbed the hill and finding the gates of the shrine closed against them decided to blow up the shrine. They dug a hole in the wall of the Savalakhacha Bhunga shrine with the intention of putting dynamite in it. Just then millions of bees

buzzed out of that hole and attacked the Moslem soldiers. The assault of the bees was so great that the invading army took to its heels, but the bees persisted in harassing them and chased them. Finally the Commander of Aurangzeb's army enquired from the local people the meaning of the strange happening and was informed that their deity Khandoba was a very hot-tempered and vigilant deity and had punished them for their evil intentions of desecrating his shrine. The Commander was also told that if the armies wished to put a stop to this harassment by the bees they would first have to appease Khandoba. When Aurangzeb was informed of the strange happenings by his Commander and the remedial action suggested, he, the most zealous of iconoclasts, immediately sanctioned a sum of rupees one lakh and a quarter (*Sava lakh*) to be presented to Khandoba and withdrew his forces from Jejuri. Since then the shrine got its present name, Savalakha Bhunga.

The temple at Jejuri faces east and the entire plateau above the hill is covered by stone pavement, in the centre of which stands the shrine of Khandoba. The courtyard is surrounded by pillars, cusped arches and arched aisles. On the northern arched gateway a *nagarkhana* is constructed. In the portico are hung several bells and a *khanda* or a sword which has a blade four feet long and four inches broad. This sword being the emblem of the deity has given the name Khandoba to the deity, meaning one who carried the *Khanda*.

In the *mandap* of the temple are erected the statues of two horses, one with Khandoba astride on it. In the '*Devaghar*', a small shrine constructed within a shrine, there is present a square *yoni* in which are two *sunyamblu lingas* covered with silver. They symbolically represent Khandoba and his consort Mhalsa. Also present are a large number of pairs of statues of Khandoba and Mhalsa. Iconographically Khandoba is shown carrying a sword, a *trishula*, a *damru* and a bowl, all of which are Śaivite attributes, and Mhalsa is shown carrying lotus flowers or lotus buds in her hands.

Outside the temple proper is constructed a large sized stone tortoise, nine meters in diameter. This tortoise platform is used as a *rangshila*, a platform on which devotional songs are sung, and singing and dancing concerts in honour of the god are performed. It is interesting to note that tortoise or *Kurma* is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Other gods resident in the temple compound are Mahadeva, known as Pañhalingesvara (a five-faced *Linga* of Śiva), a small temple of Tulja-bhavanī (a form of Durgā, consort of Shiva), and Ganesha, son of Śiva and Parvati, in fact all deities belonging to the family of Shiva.

Out of the two shrines of Khandoba at Jejuri, the shrine of Karhe-pathar is considered to be the older one and is situated at a higher elevation. The two shrines are connected by a tract and a large number of archways. Half way up, between the two shrines is a place called Ghodendān, and it is believed to be the spot from where the horse of Khandoba jumped to reach Gad-Kot. According to a story current, long, long ago, there was a man who visited the shrine at Karhe-pathar daily. He grew old but continued his daily pilgrimage to the shrine even when he could barely struggle to climb up the hill. One day the effort was too much for his old bones and he fell down. The old man was heart-broken at the thought that he would not be able to visit his deity again. Khandoba, pleased with his devotions, appeared before him and said that he would come down from

the hill so that the old did not have to go through the ordeal of climbing up. Barely were the words uttered when the horse of Khandoba jumped down to Gad-Kot. The old man scrambled down to Gad-Kot and found two *Swayambhu liigas* there and from that day onwards the old man did not have to climb up to Karhe-pathar to offer worship to Khandoba. The two *Swayambhu liigas* at Gad-Kot are believed to be the same as the ones that appeared after the horse of Khandoba jumped there from Karhe-pathar.

The Karhe-pathar image of Khandoba is three feet high with his legs crossed and holding the customary sword, trident, *damaru* and the bowl in his hands. The bowl is carved out of a black stone, the same type out of which the deity is carved. The sword is made of steel and the trident and *damaru*, which are both removable, are of brass. On either side of the deity are two female attendants called Balai or Palai and Yogeshvari, who is also called Valliamma in Tamil Nadu. Behind the main image are two carved heads, one of the demon Mani and the other of Malla. These are the demons that Khandoba killed. Around the main temple are small shrines of Hanuman, Ramachandra, Sita and of Hemadī Pradhan, a local deity.

The name Khandoba is generally believed to be a distorted form of the name Skanda. He is also called by other names in Maharashtra, such as Mallari, Malhari, Martand (a solar deity), Mhalsakant, Raval Nath, Yelkooti Mahadeva and Mailar, which is really a Kannada name. Mhalsa is the name of one of his wives, the other being Balai or Palai.

The second well known temple of Khandoba is at Pal in the Satara district of Maharashtra. The place was originally called Rajapur. According to a legend the deity Khandoba appeared in a vision to a milk-maid at this spot and since her name was Palai, the name of the place was changed from Rajapur to Pal to honour the incident. Palai is also one of the wives of Khandoba.

Some old texts mention how the incarnation of Mallari or Martand became necessary. Long ago the two dattiyas called Madhu and Kaitabha on achieving immense powers and strength due to austerities and penances had started harassing the entire universe. They had to be ultimately annihilated and Vishnu killed them when they stole the Vedas from Brahmā. Even though the two demons were killed, from their ashes arose two other dattiyas called Mani and Malla. They underwent severe penances and austerities to win the grace of Shiva. They did this to take revenge for their defeat and death suffered in their previous birth. Shiva, pleased by their austerities, agreed to grant whatever boon they carved. The dattiyas asked for the boon of conquering the three worlds of the earth, the heavens and the space in between and of ruling over gods, humans, animals, and also that no one should be able to kill them, not even the five elements, the stars etc.

In fact what they asked amounted to immunity from death both from the animate and the inanimate world, in other words, immortality. Shiva having himself offered to grant them a boon, got perturbed at the immense powers they had achieved by his agreeing to their wish and decided to do something before it was too late. He asked them in return to grant him a boon. The dattiyas were flattered at this request from the Great

Lord himself and readily agreed and before they could even question Shiva about the nature of his wish, Shiva said that he wished them to die at his hands. The two daityas agreed to this but on the condition that they face death only after they had conquered all the three worlds, defeated the gods, desecrated the temples, humiliated the Brahmanas etc. Shiva having already given in to their demands had no choice but to agree to these conditions also.

Mani and Malla lost no time and started immediately on fulfilling their ambitious intentions. They despised everyone and all laws of society. With a blood-thirsty urge to kill, and fearing no one, they started killing the holy men, burning down towns and villages abducting women and children and laying waste the entire countryside. The holocaust created by the daityas was no universal that the afflicted people did not know where to turn for help. Just then Narada muni appeared on the scene and asked them to take refuge on Dhavalagiri near the Jejuri hills. Then a delegation visited Indra and asked for a redress of their grievances. But Indra was himself afraid of Mani and Malla and asked them to go to Vishnu help as Shiva's blessings on the two demons were virtually like a curse on the celestials. With great hope people visited the abode of Vishnu and placed their grievances before him, but even he was unable to help them as Shiva was all powerful and his boon to the daityas could not be removed. He asked them to place their grievances before Śiva himself and hoped that he would be amiable and would do something.

When Śiva appraised of the atrocities committed by Mani and Malla, he decided that it was time for him to do something to put a stop to the rapacious behaviour of the two daityas. He assumed the Rudra or the Martand Bhairava, a fierce form of his, and marched against the daityas on the full moon day of the month of Chaitra. All the gods sent their armies accompanied with their distinctive emblems to join him in battle and Skanda was the commander of this force. Martand-Bhairava, riding a white horse with a scimitar hanging from his belt, was there to goad the armies.

Because of their earlier victories and conquests, the two daityas Mani and Malla had become very proud and ego-centric as they considered themselves to be invincible and took no notice of the reports of the vast armies advancing towards them. Ultimately when the armies of the gods were actually at their door-step, they had no choice but to come out and fight. To start with, the leader of the demonic host was Mani. A fierce battle took place but ultimately Mani fell down. Martand Bhairava put his foot on his head and was going to kill him when the repentant daitya prayed to Śiva for forgiveness. He asked for the boon of being associated with the temples of Martand Bhairava after he had been killed. Shiva agreed. Shiva thought of sparing the life of Malla and giving him a similar fate and sent word to him through Vishnu to abide with his armies in *Patalaloka*, the nether regions. He thought he was doing him a favour. But Malla was infuriated at this order and completely forgetting the boon that he had given to Shiva said that he would kill Martand Bhairava, i.e., Śiva, as his brother mani had been killed by him. Viṣṇu tried to dissuade Malla from this suicidal course but without success. Ultimately a fierce battle raged and Martand Bhairava himself charged into the battle. Finally the daitya fell down and asked for forgiveness before he was killed. The compassionate god forgave him and on his

request agreed to have his name and image engraved on his temples along with those of his brother Mani. The deity Khandoba came to be called Malhari or Mallari from then onwards, and the heads of Mani and Malla came to decorate the pedestals of all Khandoba images.

This same deity Khandoba is worshipped in Śrī Lanka by the name Khandaswami, which name is only a corrupt form of the name Skandaswami, which in turn is another name of Karttikeya. It is believed that Karttikeya met his consort Vallamuna in the south of Śrī Lanka at a place called Katargam where now stands a wellknown temple of his. Here the deity is called Katargama Devīyo. Kartikkeya disguised as a monk, tried to win over Valli, but she rejected his advances. It was his brother Gaṇapati who persuaded her to accept Karttikeya-Skanda as a husband.

12

The Kujjikā Cult

The founder of the Kujjikā cult is said to be Śiva who is venerated as Ādinātha, the primordial teacher. It is Ādinātha who imparts the doctrine to the goddess Kujjikā in the KRU. He, the first Master, is, according to one myth, the source of the goddess even though he declares that both he and his consort are beginningless and with no end. It is he, not the goddess, who is the essence of the *Pāścima* tradition which draws its life from him, because he is the authentic identity of those who worship him and the goddess. His body is the source of the sacraments offered to him and the goddess with whom he unites to emit the 'sequences' (*krama*) of the liturgy and the sacred circles (*maṇḍala*) in which he is worshipped with the sacrificial formulas he himself has taught. Ādinātha is also called Śrinātha who is identified with Mahabhairava, the Lord of Kula and Kujjikā's consort, Kujješvara. He receives the doctrine from the goddess but at the same time is praised by her as the source of all-Kula doctrine. Śrinātha is also identified with Śrikanṭha, said to be the original propagator of the Śaivāgama who is worshipped at times even before Śaṅkara. Although Śrinātha is extolled as the highest God, there are reasons to believe that he was an historical person. He is listed as the last of eighteen teachers in the line of the Divine Tradition (*divyānāyānukrama*) and was said to be the only teacher in the town of Candrapura who belonged to the Western Tradition. He was helped at the beginning of the present Age of Darkness to propagate the doctrine by Oḍḍānātha, Śriṣaṣṭhanātha and Śricaryendranātha who like in the land of Koṅkoṇa where Candrapura was situated. As the founder of a line of teachers, he is called "Olinātha." A Siddhanātha is also referred to as the original propagator of this tradition but he may be none other than Śrinātha if we take "Siddhanātha" to be a way of referring to an accomplished adept rather than a proper name.

As we have noted above, Siddhāntha was said to have brought the teachings to earth on the Island of the Moon (*candradvīpa*), also called the "City of the Moon" (*candrapura*) the "City of the Island of the Moon," or the "City of the Sacred Place of the Moon" (*candrapīṭhapura*). It symbolises the Innate Nature (*svabhāva*) of all things where the divine body of the goddess Kujjikā resides in the form of *Kuṇḍalinī*. It is probable that Candrapura did exist although the Tantras overlaid it, as they did other places sacred to the goddess, with a symbolism which interlarded it into an inner sacred geography, thus making it difficult for us to locate the site of this town. The land of Koṅkoṇa, where Candrapura was situated, is said to have been in the Himalayas. Schoterman, however,

does not believe that this is likely but thinks instead that : "Koṅkaṇa denotes the whole strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. It seems more likely, however, that Candrapura was located somewhere in the Himalayan region in view of the many associations that the goddess and her place of origin has with mountains. Thus in the KMT the mountain of the Moon (*candraparrata*) is said to lie to the west of mount Meru near Gandhamālya which is where the Island of the Moon is located according too the ŚaṭṢṢ. Indeed, this is probably one of the reasons (if not the main one) why the cult of Kubjikā is associated with the western quarter.

Between the three peaks of Himavat is the site of the Land or Town of the Tradition (*santānabhuvana/pura*) which is equated with the Western Tradition, also called (as is common practice in these Tantras), the Abode of the Moon (*candragṛha*). According to the mystical physiology of these Tantras, Himavat symbolises the mind (*manas*) found at the end of the Twelve-finger Space above the head (*dvadaśānta*) where *Kundalini* abides in her most risen state. Thus Kubjikā is said to descent onto the peak of the Snow Mountain (*himagiri*) in the land of India. This peak is located at the end of the stream of divine sound (*nāda*) which resounds throughout the micro/macrocosm until it merges into the Silence of the Transcendent at the highest level of being at the End of Sound (*nādānta*) in the Twelve-finger Space. The goddess of the Peak (*śikhadevi*) and the Mistress of the Wheels of Energy which revolve in the cosmic body. Her body is pure consciousness and bestows the bliss of the 'churning' or arousal of the power of enlightened consciousness. As the power of consciousness, she is also Speech and as such is adorned with the fifty letters of the alphabet and resides in this form within the divine triangle of the Three Peaks once she descends into it along the Path of Meru. The MBT, according to the colophons, has also emerged along the Path of Meru in the Primordial Sacred Abode (*ādyapīṭha*). The KRU explains that the Path of Meru means, according to Kula doctrine, Sky of Consciousness which knows its own nature completely. It is from here that the beginningless sequence of the progressive unfolding of consciousness and the transmission of the doctrine originates and so is called the Primordial Abode (*ādipīṭha*) located in the Centre between Kailāsa and Malaya. The Lord resides here with his power that pervades all things.

Although it is not possible on the basis of the evidence so far available to say anything definite about where the Kubjikā cult originated, if we assume that the Tantras of these schools invest with symbolic meaning the environment and localities in which the Kubjikā cult originally developed, it seems likely that we would be right to seek its origins somewhere in the Western Himalayas. That this cult was known in the mountains of the North of India during the earliest period of its development seems to find support by a reference in the KMT to birch bark as the material on which a Mantra is to be written. The MBT also refers to it as ■ writing material and the GS prescribes that a sacred diagram be drawn on it with sexual fluids mixed with poison.

The study of the cult of Kubjikā and the Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition is barely in its infancy. We hope that some of the more important of these texts will be edited and studied in the near future. There can be no doubt that this is an early Kaula tradition

which is of great interest not only for the richness of its doctrines and the beauty of its symbolism but also because it can tell us something important about a part, at least, of the history of Hindu Tantra.

13

The Paścimāmnāya

Some scholars have assumed that the cult of Kubjikā is of Nepalese origin largely because virtually all the manuscripts of the Tantras of this school are Nepalese. This assumption is not, however, supported by the texts themselves. They do say that this school originated in a mountainous region, probably the Himalayas (see below), and make the point that it spread throughout India. Even so, Nepal is hardly mentioned as a place sacred to the goddess, while the Nine Nāthas who are said to have propagated the doctrine of Kubjikā in our times, although all of North Indian origin, are not Nepalese. However, wherever, it may have originated, the cult of Kubjikā was known in Nepal by the first half of the twelfth century A.D.—the date of the oldest manuscript of the KMT. The great abundance of manuscripts of Tantras and related works belonging to this school copied from this time up to the seventeenth century testify to its popularity there during this period. Judging from the number of manuscripts copied from this period onwards, the Kubjikā cult seems to have waned in importance although it must have continued to command a small following up to quite recent times because a few manuscripts did continue to be copied right up to the present century. I was informed during a recent visit to Nepal that Kubjikā is still worshipped on certain occasions in the Kathmandu valley although her cult is now hardly known to anybody.

Scholars have pointed out that references to Kubjikā and her school are rare, nor are images of her common whether drawn or sculptured. This is true of another goddess associated with her worship and whose cult has similarly been popular in Nepal since the inception of the cult of Kubjikā, namely, Guhyakālī. The reason for this seems to be that such cults either disappeared along with countless others or else managed to survive only at the regional level. A prime example of this phenomena is Trika Śaivism which, but for its following in Kashmir and the genius of those who applied themselves to it there, would probably be unknown. It is not quite right, therefore, to think of the Kubjikā cult as a school which “remained very independent and stood aloof from other Tantrik schools. In fact, one of the aims of future research into this school could be to identify, as far as the available sources permit, the various elements of other Tantric traditions which have contributed to its formation and to distinguish them from its own original contributions.

“Kubjikā” is the feminine form of the Sanskrit word “Kubja” which literally means “humped-back” or “crooked.” Even so, although the Tantras of the Kubjikā school describe many forms in which the goddess can be visualised, she is not commonly

represented as bent over. It has been suggested, in order to account for this fact, that "Kubja" is a word of Muṇḍā origin that does not originally mean "crooked." The Tantras do not, however, support this contention. Thus we find that Kubjikā is also called "Vakreśvarī, Varikā or Vakra because, as the Tantras explain, her limbs are crooked (*vakra*). Of her three principal forms as a girl (*Bāḍā*), young woman (*Kumārī*) and old woman (*Vṛddhā*), it is the last which, as one would expect, is associated with her crooked form. Perhaps this image of her as old and deformed is the reason why she is also called "Khañjant" which means literally "she who walks with a limp?" A myth recorded in the KRU that explains why she is bent over does not, however, related this to her age? The story goes that Kubjikā once sat with devotion to worship the union of the god with the goddess. The god then appeared to her and took hold of her hand as a prelude to union but she, overcome with apprehension and bashfulness, contracted her body, and so became 'Kubjikā. As such, she is equated with *Kuṇḍalinī* who, when awakened, becomes bent over with 'shame'? Again, Kubjikā's crooked form relates to her nature as *Kuṇḍalinī* who is the matrix (*yoni*) or Triangle (*śrīgāṭhā*) from which creation pours forth and in which it resides. As such, she is bent over, not when awakening but when she is dormant, and the power of consciousness (*cicchakṛtī*) is contracted, which is as one would expect, and is in fact usually the case in representations of *Kuṇḍalinī*. From this point of view, consciousness is 'straight', i.e., unconditioned when it is free of 'crooked' obscuring thought-constructs. From another point of view, Kubjikā is said to be crooked because she must contract her limbs to reside in the body of Kuleśvara just as someone whose body is large must stoop down when moving about in a small hut. While according to the *Parātantra*, she is bent over because she initially 'churns' her navel with her tongue to give birth to the universe within her womb. This is because, as the CMSS explains, the navel is the Great Matrix (*mahāyoni*) from which *Kuṇḍalinī* rises. Thus in this account Kubjikā is bent over in order to stimulate her cosmic power which, rising through the body, leads the yogi to liberation.

Kubjikā is the Supreme Goddess (*Parā devī*) where form is the divine light of consciousness that shines in the centre of the brilliant radiance enlightened yogis perceive. As such, she is the Great Mother they experience within themselves. As *Kuṇḍalinī* she is pure bliss, the power of the Light which resides in all the six centres in the body (*cakra*) and so is of six forms. As the power of consciousness she is the source of all Mantras and as such has three aspects: Supreme (*Parā*), Middling (*Parāparā*) and Inferior (*Aparā*). In this three-fold form she is, just as in Trika doctrine, *Mūlinī* consisting of the fifty letters of the alphabet in a state of disorder, symbolising the rising of *Kuṇḍalinī* and the disruption of the cosmic order that takes place when it is reabsorbed into the Supreme Matrix (*parayoni*)—the goddess Kubjikā—from whence it was originally emitted. At this level the goddess resides in the state which is Beyond Mind (*ummanābhāvātītā*) as Śiva's divine power (*sāmbhavaśakti*) to will, know and act. She has thus three forms (*trirūpā*) and travels along the three paths (*tripathagā*) of the sides of the triangle of the organ of generation (*bhaga*) which is both the source and ultimate end of all creation. At the corners of this triangle are located the *Mahāpīṭhas*: Pūrṇagiri, Jālandhara and Kāmarūpa. In the

centre is Odṭyānaplṭha where the goddess resides in union with the divine *liṅga* whose nature is bliss itself and whose the goddess, as Rudra's power (*rudraśakti*), pervades each part of triangle and lords over it as the Mistress of Kula (*Kuleśvarī*) resides in the centre of this triangle is as a tamarind tree: *Ciñcinī*. Thus it refers to the doctrine of the *Kubjikātantras* as *Ciñcinīśāstra*. The abode of this doctrine is the Circle of the Divine Transmission (*divyaughamanḍala*), higher than that of the Transmission of the Perfected Ones and of Men (*Siddhā* and *Mānavauḥa*). It is under this Tamarind Tree that Ciñcinīnātha (alias *Vṛkṣanātha*) attained, by divine command, the highest state. This tree is the tree of the light of consciousness (*ciñcinīcitprakāśa*) brought into this world by Siddhanātha who planted it on the Island of the Moon (*candradvīpa*) which is in the Great Ocean of Kula. The roots of this Tree and its branches are extensive and it bears the fruits of the Divine Transmission. It is Kaula rooted in Kula and flourishes in Śiva's Circle. The Juice of this tree is one's own nature (*svastabhāva*); its young sprouts are the Vedas and Vedāṅgas; its flowers are the senses, and the divine fount which waters it is the delight of consciousness, its inner glory. To lie in its shade is to experience the highest state of rest (*viśrānti*) in which one is free of the opposites of pleasure and pain.

14

The Kulāgama Tantra

The Kaulatantras belong to such an extensive and important category of Āgamic scripture that they can be considered to constitute a corpus in their own right which we can conveniently label "*Kulāgama*." But although, as we shall see in the following pages, the *Kulāgama* can be treated as an independent unit with its own subdivisions and internal distinctions, its link with the greater Āgamic corpus is very close and consistently maintained. Thus, the *Kaulatantras* consider themselves to be essentially Śaiva and venerate Bhīrava as the highest God. Moreover, Many *Kaulatantras* are not only affiliated to their own Kaula groups but also have a specific place of their own in the greater Śaiva canon, usually as members of the *Bhairavasrotas*. Even so, one of the most striking features of these Tantras is their markedly Śākta character. Indeed, Kaula traditions are sometimes distinguished from one another, and their Tantras classified, according to the goddess who is the focus of their complex Tantric System of Mantras, rituals and Yogic practice.

Kaula rites are generally private and, ideally, performed in secluded places such as lonely forests, mountains, deserts, cremation grounds or sacred centres where adepts, male and female (*siddhās* and *yoginīs*), traditionally assemble. The deity worshipped is often (but not always) fearsome and adored with offerings of meat (including at times beef and human flesh) and wine as well as the male and female sexual fluids (*kuṇḍagolaka*) produced during ritual intercourse. The deity may be invoked to take possession of the worshipper so that he can gain its awesome power through which he perceives the deity's pervasive presence (*vyāpti*) in all things. Many practices such as this one are designed to be fearful (*bhayaśāhā*); others, and these were particularly important for the refined Kashmiri Trika Kaula, are meant to delight the senses and mind (*sukhāśāhā*). The sacrificial offerings and ritual, in this case, induce the emergence of the innate bliss of consciousness (*ānanda*). This inner, spiritual joy is cultivated as the adept's consciousness unfolds until he lays hold of his own innate nature (*svastubhāva*), when consciousness reaches its most fully expanded state (*pūrṇavikāśa*). This process, therefore, entails a change in the modality of the adept's consciousness which takes place by the actualisation of the latent inner spiritual power technically called "*Kuṇḍalinī*." When *Kuṇḍalinī* awakens, it rises in the form of the Upward Moving Breath (*udānaprāṇa*), penetrating, as it does so, through successive levels of the cosmic order homologised to the microcosm of the adept's body. Finally, it merges, in the form of the vitality of the vital breath (*prāṇaśakti*) and Mantra (*mantravārya*), into the universal breath (*Prāṇana*) and divine resonance of

consciousness in the highest state of bliss, to then permeate all the lower levels it traversed in its ascent. In this way the delight of the senses becomes a means to liberation: one who is on the Kaula path drinks wine, eats meat and performs ritual intercourse in order to make the innate bliss of his own nature manifest—not out of greed or lust.

The bliss the Kaula experiences is entirely spiritual and not at all worldly. The Kaula savours the objects of the senses not just for his pleasure but to use this pleasure to make consciousness more fully manifest and in so doing unite ■ with its object. When *Kuṇḍalinī* rises, the fettered soul ■ elevated out of his state of bondage (*paśūta*) in which the experience of sensory objects deprives him of his authentic subjectivity and so becomes, like a sacrificial beast (*paśu*), a helpless victim of the forces of his own contracted consciousness. Accordingly, some Kaula traditions advocated symbolic substitutes for the meat, wine and sex, declaring that the essential point of Kaula practice is the arousal of *Kuṇḍalinī* and the expansion of consciousness. The followers of these Kaula schools were, however, condemned by others such as the Kashmiri Trika Kaulas who, possibly closer to the original spirit of Kaula doctrine, insisted that these were essential and hence irreplaceable elements of Kaula ritual.

The flow of *Kuṇḍalinī* up through the lower levels, reabsorbing them as it goes into their ultimate source—the Nameless (*andmaka*) absolute Beyond Mind (*unmanā*), and its return back down, recreating as it does so all the lower levels now experienced as one with consciousness, constitute the sequence of the dynamic power of consciousness, here called Kula. At the same time, as the pure consciousness which is the innate nature of all things and their universal cause, it is the source of this flow and the abode of rest where it reposes. As such, it is said to be the Supreme Bliss of one's own essential nature. This authentic Being is Akula—the male principle, while his cosmic outpouring (*visarga*) is Kula, his divine power—Śakti, the female principle. These two are worshipped as Kuleśvarī and Kuleśvara. The union of these two principles—Kula and Akula—is called the Supreme Kaula (*param kaulam*) which is both at rest in itself (*sānta*) as well as rising out of itself (*udita*) in the form of its cosmic manifestation. Both these, Kula and Akula, are combined in Kaula doctrine. The philosophical standpoint of the *Kaulatmikas* and that of their exegetes is essentially monist. Ultimate reality is Kaula—the fusion of opposites in which subject and object are united in the unfolding of consciousness which expands out into itself to assume the form of its universal manifestation. This reality can be realised by the performance of Kaula ritual without succumbing to doubt (*śaṅkā*), that is to say, in a state of consciousness free of thought-constructs (*nirvikalpa*) in which the opposites, particularly the dichotomy of pure and impure, prohibition and injunction, are transcended.

Kaula doctrine and practice is not confined exclusively to those Tantras which explicitly consider themselves to be Kaula: it is an important element of other Tantras as well—particularly those of the *Vāma* and *Dakṣiṇasrotas* with which the *Kaulatantras* are closely related. Kula doctrine originates in these two currents of scripture and so is said to follow from them and extend them at their furthest limit. At the same time, it is present in all the Śaiva scriptures, pervading them as their finest and most subtle element, like the perfume in flowers, taste in water or the life in the body. In fact, the expression “Kaula”

can be used to refer to a typology of practice outlined in the Tantras as a whole, as well as to an identifiable part of them which is sometimes even specifically said to be such by the Tantras themselves. Thus the *Netratānta* describes the worship of Sadāśiva, Tumburu and Bhairava in three separate chapters as representative of three *Śaivasrotas*, while the *Kulāmnāya* is treated chapters on its own. This chapter, according to Kṣemarāja, deals with *Kulāmnāyadarśana* which he says is the “undivided essence of the upper, left and right currents.” Although the NT deals with Kaula ritual separately in a category of its own, this does not mean that the Kaula tradition is a newcomer whose Tantras need to be somehow accommodated into an older, already well-defined corpus, for we come across references to Kaula schools already in the *Siddhāntāgamas* as distinct groups alongside the Śaivāgama.

The Kaula traditions were, in a sense, set apart from other Āgamic schools due to their strictly esoteric character. As a Śaivite one could be initiated into Kaula practice, although this was to be kept as secret as was one’s own Kaula identity. In fact, *Kulaśāstra* seems to have been developing alongside the Tantric schools of the Śaivāgama from an early period, influencing them while being influenced by them. It made sense, therefore, in view of this close symbiosis, that Kaula rites should find a place in Tantras which did not consider themselves to be specifically Kaula. We observe this phenomenon particularly in the *Vāma* and *Bhairavatantras*, while the *Siddhānta*, on the contrary, is virtually free of this Kaula element. An instance of the application and intergration of this important dimension of the *Vāma*, and more particularly of the *Bhairavatantras*, led to the development of Kashmiri Trika which, even though it originated in the *Dakṣiṇasrotas*, came to think of itself as Kaula.

Kula schools seem to have proliferated to an astonishing degree. The number of Kulas were so many that they are referred to in juxta-position with the Tantras of the Śaivāgama as if the Kulas were as numerous as the Tantras themselves. In this context, “Kula” meant is line of transmisson (*santati*) from master to disciple or a tradition (*sampradāya*) that was handed down in small monastic centres (*maṭhikā*) and so was also called “*maṭhikā*.” The *tantrāloka* records one of the basic patterns of classification of these Kaula traditions, namely, the *Siddhakrama* (or *Siddhasantati*) originally established by four Kaula masters, each said to have been incarnated in one of the four Ages (*yuga*). They are, in due order: Khagendranātha, Kūramanātha, Meṣanātha and Matsyendranātha. Each of these teachers had consorts while the last couple gave birth to (or initiated) twelve ‘princes’ of whom six were fit to impart Kaula doctrine and founded six distinct Kaula traditions.

Following another system of classification, Jayaratha distinguishes between four basic types: *Mahākula*, *Kula*, *Akula* and *Kulākula*. A more common distinction is that made between *Kula* and *Kaula*, which the *Niśiṣaṅga* and *Bhairavatantra* consider to be of ascending order of importance, with Trika as superior to both. The *Pāścimāmanāya* also recognises the distinction between *Kula* and *Kaula* and thinks of itself as separate from both. At the same time, it considers itself to be a Śaiva (*śāmbhava*) tradition which combines both *Kula* and *Kaula*. In this tradition, both the male and female principle are worshipped, and so it is Kaula and leads to the blissful experience of both Śiva and Śakti.

What this means, apparently, is that the *Paścimāmnāya* is closely associated with the Śaivāgama although its roots are in the Kula tradition, emerging as it does as both Kula and Kaula. Thus this tradition can say, without contradiction, that it is equally Kula as well as Kaula.

This Kula/Kaula school is said to be of six kinds. These six are listed in the *Kularatnoddya* as follows: *ānanda*, *avali*, *prabhu*, *yaugika*, *atila* and *pāda*, which correspond to the Kaula traditions established by the six princes generated from Matsyendranātha. The grouping together of these traditions (*santati*) is one of the many features the *Paścimāmnāya* shares in common with the Trika (see below). The Kaula schools generally set themselves apart from one another but the *paścimāmnāya*, like the Trika, prides itself in being higher than other Kaula schools because it includes them all within itself and does not make unnecessary distinctions between them, although, of course, it maintains its own independent existence as a *śāstra* to be followed without resorting to others.

The Mouth of the Yoginī

A characteristic feature of all Kaula traditions is that they consider themselves to be originally oral transmissions imparted in secret, and the *Paścimāmnāya* is no exception. The master imparted the teaching to the disciple who proved his worth, for it was felt that only in this way could the tradition be preserved and protected from the insincere. It is certainly true, as Abhinavagupta says, that there is a limit to what can be written and learned in books; the master is not, however, merely a source of extra information that cannot be found in the scriptures or simply a man who knows how to decipher their codes or interpret their subtle meanings. He is above all the vehicle through which the hidden power of their teachings is transmitted. He is the one who imparts the initiation which marks his disciple's entry into a new existential condition in which he is on the *path* to liberation, training himself through the grace of the deity (embodied in the master) to attain the enlightened state his master reached before him and thus perpetuate the transmission of the teachings. His constant companions and supports along his journey are the Mantras he was taught when, during his initiation, he made this transition. Full of the vital, living power of consciousness. Written Mantras are powerless, they are as ineffective as lines drawn on water. Equally useless is any other spiritual practice learned from the dead letter of the written word. Thus the *Paścimāmnāya* lays particular stress on the importance of the master. He is the sole essential element of this, the "Tradition of the Master" (*gurodmāya*), also known as that of the "Mouth of the Master." It is here that spiritual knowledge and Mantra reside, by virtue of which he is the Lord of the *Paścimāmnāya*.

In the *Paścimāmnāya*, as in all-Kaula traditions in general, women are thought to have a special role to play as the transmitters of Kaula doctrine for, as the saying goes, "one should place wisdom in the mouth of a woman and take it again from her lips. She is the master's Tantric consort (*dūtī*) who, like the master, instructs the disciple and so is to be respected as his equal in every way. She can also be the unattached yoginī

encountered by the adept (*siddha*) who, in search of Yogic accomplishment, wanders on pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Kaulas where meetings take place. It is from her that the wisdom of the tradition is learned and how the rituals should be performed. The *Manthānabhairava* of the *Pāścimāmnāya* insists that there is no difference between the teacher and the Yoginī. The secret of all the scripture, the supreme essence of the oral tradition, is on the lips of the Yoginī. Thus she is venerated as the Supreme Power which bestows the bliss of the innate nature of all things (*sahajānanda*) and is the embodiment of Bhairava's will. The yoginī is the womb from which the enlightened Yogi is born and her mouth, from which issues the tradition, is the sacred matrix (*yoni*), the triangle consisting of the powers of consciousness to will, know and act. As the womb (*yoni*) of creation, it is the Lower Mouth (*adhovaktra*) which is the essence of Kaula doctrine. This lower face is that of the yoginī equated in the Trika with the Primary Wheel (*mukhyacakra*), namely, that of consciousness into which all the Secondary Wheels (*anucakra*) of consciousness—those of the senses, both physical and mental—dissolve away and from which they emerge. It is the Circle of Bliss (*ānandacakra*) from which the energy of emission (*viargaśakti*) flows forth as *Kundalinī*, that is, as *Kaulikīśakti*, who in the *Pāścimāmnāya* is represented as *Kubjikā*, the presiding goddess.

The 'Lower Mouth', which is the Mouth of the Yoginī, is generally considered by the Kaula tradition as a whole to be the source of Kaula doctrine. From it flows the sixth current below the five currents of the Śaivāgama. The Lower Current is hidden there, below the faces of Sadāśiva, symbolising its esoteric character. By virtue of the monism of its doctrines, it is said to rise through, and permeate, the other Śaiva traditions, leading them ultimately to the undivided bliss of consciousness which is the experience of Śiva in His highest state (*paraśiva*). The *Pāścimāmnāya*, like other Kaula traditions, calls this face "*Picuvaktra*," i.e., the face of the yoginī called *Picu*. It is the Face of the Nether Region (*pātālavaktra*) from which creation streams forth. According to a system of classification outlined in the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* of the *Pāścimāmnāya*, the Āgamas are divided into seven groups corresponding to the seven psychic centres in the body (*cakra*). The lowest centre is the Wheel of the Foundation (*ādhāracakra*), which is that of the Nether Region, followed by the five current of the Śaivāgama spoken by the five faces of Sadāśiva. Above these is the Wheel of the Uncreated (*ajacakra*). Schoterman explains that in the first—the highest—mouth resides Śiva as *Ādideva* together with the *Ādiśakti*, while in the seventh—the lowest—mouth resides the goddess as *Guhyaśakti*: the union of these two mouths is the goal. One of the points, it seems, that is being made here is that the *Pāścimāmnāya* is the highest of the Āgamic schools and contains them all by combining within itself both the highest Kaula and the highest Śaiva doctrines.

The tradition which emerges from the yoginī's mouth is called in the *Pāścimāmnāya*; a *Śaivaśrotas*. The *Siddhāntāgamas* also consider the Kaula tradition to be represented by two of eight subsidiary currents (*anusrotas*) associated with the five principal currents of the Śaivāgama. These two are called *Yoginikaula* and *Siddhakaula*. The *Yoginikaula* is so called because the yoginīs heard it from Śiva's mouth and kept it within their own line of transmission. The *Siddhakaula* is similarly originally derived from Śaiva doctrine but is

transmitted by *Siddhas*, the male counterparts of the *yoginis*. These two categories are well known in the *Kaulatantras* and are vitally connected with each other. In the *Kaulajñānanirnaya*, Matsyendranātha figures as the founder of the *Yoginikula* tradition which is especially associated with the fabulous land of *Kāmarūpa*, although he himself seems to have belonged to the *Siddhā*, or *Siddhānṛtakaula*. That *Kaulatantras* did, in fact, reflect on themselves as belonging to one or other of these two broad categories transpires from the characterisation of the *Urmīkaulatāntra* as belonging to the *Siddhasantāna* transmitted through one of its branches. The *Yoginikula* is mentioned in work quoted by Jayaratha.

The typifying characterisation of these two classes by the KMT of the *Paścimāmnāya* is essentially the same as that found in the *Siddhantāgama* referred to above. The *Paścimāmnāya*, consistent with its characterization of Kula doctrine as the tradition which expounds the essence of the teachings of the *Yoginī*, considered itself to the tradition of the *yoginīs* (*yoginīkrama*) and the secret of their oral transmission. Even so, *Paścima* doctrine is considered to be that of *Siddhas* of the *Paścimāmnāya* and is not to be revealed to those who do not belong to the *Siddhakaula* school. There are places, however, where the *Yoginikula* is made to appear to be a part of the *Paścimāmnāya*. Again, *Kubjikā*, the presiding deity, is *Kuṇḍalinī*, which is the essential teaching of the *Yoginikula*. Thus amongst the Kaula traditions originating from the sacred places (*ṣṭhās*), the *Paścimāmnāya* presents the most vital doctrine of all the Kaula tradition—including the *Yoginikaula*. At its highest level, however, the *Paścimāmnāya* agrees with the *Yoginikula* that the ultimate object of devotion is Śiva (here called Śambhu). He is the abode of the *Śāmbhava* state and as such the Supreme Place that, although beyond all characterisation, bestows infinite qualities. It is where all practice ceases and all things appear immediately present

directly before the *Yogi*.

15

The Kulatantras and Śaivāgama

Here we sum up what we have said up to now about the development of these Kaula traditions. Firstly, we should emphasise that the essential features of Kaula doctrine and ritual are by no means exclusive to Tantric works which call themselves Kaula. Practically all that is generally considered to be the ritual, Yogic practice and life style of a Kaula (whether itinerant ascetic or householder) can be found prescribed in the *Bhairavatantras*. The JY, SYM, BY and *Bhairavatantras* of this sort all seem at first sight highly Kaula in character. They themselves, however, do not consider themselves to be such, even though they sometimes describe rituals that they specifically state are Kaula. Indeed, this fact only serves to make the contrast between them and the *Kulatantras* even more striking, despite much that other Tantric works? They reply to this question lies essentially in what a given Tantra says about itself and its relationship to other Tantras and Tantric traditions. A *Kulatantra* will itself tell us that its dominant concern is with Kaula doctrine which it labels as such in its own terms. This is a simple principle of general application in trying to assess to what type a Tantra belongs?

As we have already noted, the earliest Tantras which Kashmiri Śaivites refer to as original sources of Trika doctrine are not, in this sense, Kaula. It makes sense, therefore, that according to Abhinavagupta the *Mūlīnīvijayottaratantra* which he considers, along with the SYM, to be the most important *Trikatantra*, refutes Kaula doctrine. Although he says that it goes beyond Kula doctrine, in fact it belongs to the strata of *Trikatantra* which had not yet become Kaula (or a 'higher' Kaula) in the way that it is for example, in the *Bhairavakulatantra* or *Kularatnamālā*. The same is true of the *Kālikrama*. The *Tantrarājabhāṭṭāraka* (also *Śiraścheda* or *Jayadrathayāmika*), to which the Kashmiris refer as an authority for certain points of Krama doctrine, is a sophisticated Tantra which typologically can be said to be highly Kaula in character. It does not, however, define itself as such even though it does deal with Kaula ritual in places. Therefore, we cannot say that this Tantra belongs to the *Kālikrama* in the specific sense of the term, although it is certainly concerned in parts with the worship of Kālī in many forms and is full of typically *Kālikrama* notions. Other, probably later, Tantras of the Kālī cult were, however, Kaula and conscious of themselves as *Kālikrama* Tantras. One could say that the *Kālikrama*, like Trika, acquired a specific independent identity as a Tantric tradition when it became conscious of itself as Kaula. Moreover, at this stage of its development we can begin to

identify figures in the line of the Āgamic Kālī cults who brought Tantras 'down to earth' or transmitted the oral tradition of the Kālikrama which finally emerged in Kashmir, fashioned at the hands of the Kashmiri authors, as a fully fledged system, not just a mass of ritual details or scattered visions in chaotic scriptural sources.

We can trace a continuity from the virtually total anonymity of the earliest scriptural sources of the proto-Krama and proto-Trika, namely, the *Bhairava* and *Vāma* Tantras, to the more distinctly sectarian *Kaulatantras* of the Trika and Krama, right up to the extra-canonical exegetical works of monist Kashmiri Śaiva authors. In this way, by the middle of the ninth century, they emerged out of the world of the Śaiva Āgamas into that of the *śāstras*. For at least two centuries these two worlds of discourse remained vitally linked through the Tantric adepts who belonged to the line of transmission of the Āgamic teachings and served as living sources of their hidden meaning. Although we have taken a leap outside the ambit of Śaiva scripture into a different dimension of discourse, the line of transmission is linked to that of the canonical works themselves. In other words, the Trika and Krama schools matured to this level following the pace of a progressively more refined hermeneutics of the Tantras' esoteric meaning, which developed in the oral traditions. It was Śambhunātha—Abhinavagupta's Trika master—who gave his the basic exegetical Trika-based model upon which the culminating work of the Trika tradition—*Tantrāloka*—is based. Again it appears that it was largely due to him that Trika was taken to be the apogee of monist Kashmiri Śaivism, for there can be no doubt that Trika is far from the central focus of monist Kashmiri Śaivism before Abhinavagupta.

To get back to the point : when the Krama emerged as a self-conscious Kaula cult, it seems that it also became conscious of itself as one of a group of *āmnāyas*. Whether these two events are concomitant or not, that is, whether the Kālikrama as an independent Kaula tradition knew itself right from its inception as the *Uttarāmnāya* or not, it certainly did so at some stage of its development. The Trikakula on the other hand, it seems, never thought of itself as belonging to an *āmnāya* even though the CMSS refers to Trika as the *Pūrvaamnāya*. This is probably why the Kashmiri Śaiva authors ignored the *āmnāya* system and preferred to relate the Trika—as a 'higher' Kaula tradition—to the Śaivāgama as a whole, just as the Āgamic Trika itself did.

The Tantras of the Kujikā cult were, however, it seems, Kaula right from the start and thought of themselves as belonging specifically to the *Paścimāmnāya*. We know that the KMT is older than the JY—a proto-Krama Tantra—which refer to it and that it is also older than the NSA. The JY is well aware of an independent current of Kaula scripture although it does not say specifically that the MKT belongs to it. Are we therefore to assume that the Kālikula already existed at the time and that it represented an *Uttarāmnāya* in relation to the Kujikātantras? Or is the KMT the oldest extant type of *āmnāya*-oriented Tantra? We have already noted that it nowhere clearly defines the *āmnāyas* of the other directions, although it refers to them. Could this be because they were simply empty categories? In other words, did they have no more than an ideal existence as mere logical complements to an existent *Paścimāmnāya*? If we accept this hypothesis, we are led to

consider the possibility that the Kālikrama accommodated itself later to this pattern, as did the Śrividya tradition in a less certain manner. Perhaps, on the other hand, it would be better to think of them as developing together with their roots firmly embedded in the Śaivāgama, drawing life from it and growing out of it, as well as alongside it.

16

The Lākuliśa Paśupata Sect

Śiva is known as Bhutapati and Paśupati in the Vedic Literature. Sometimes, he is described as the killer of animals, yet he is also considered as Paśupati, the lord of the animals. The earliest figure resembling the deity occurs on a seal from Mohenjodaro which shows a three faced male deity with horns, seated on a stool with his heels pressed closely together, who is surrounded by a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo and two deer and has been recognised by Marshall as the prototype of later Paśupati Śiva. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Paśupata as one of the five religious schools. The *Mahābhārata* (*Nārāyaṇīya* section) describes five systems of religious practices such as, *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pañcharatra*, *Veda* and *Paśupata*. It describes Śiva Śrikāntha as the teacher of Paśupata who was the Lord of Uma and the son of Brahmādeva. The *Tantraloka* also describes Śrikāntha as the unique teacher on the earth. The *Sarva-darśana-Saṅgraha* mentions Nā(Lā) Kulīśapaśupata School.

However, the Purāṇic and epigraphic evidences refer to a person named Lākuliśa an inhabitant of ancient Kayavarhona (Modern-Karvan in the Kathiawad) responsible for the development of the Paśupata cult. It is, interesting to note that Śrikāntha regarded as a god in Śaiva sect, has been identified with five, faces Sadāśiva and the guardian protector of Siddhis as well. R.G. Bhandarkar doubts the historicity of Śrikāntha. Bhandarkar regards Lākuliśa as the founder of the Paśupata sect. V.S. Pathak on the other hand, feels strongly in favour of Śrikāntha as a historical person for the *Tantraloka* regards Śrikāntha as the only authority on Śivaśāśana. Bagchi has suggested that "Lākuliśa was a probably his disciple and that these two were responsible for the foundation of the Paśupata religion." But V.S. Pathak holds the view that Lākuliśa was not an immediate disciple of Śrikāntha as literature and inscriptions do not quote them as teacher and disciple.

Date of Lākuliśa : There is a great deal of controversy among the scholars about the date of the rise of the Lākuliśa Paśupata school in India. R.G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Lākuliśa-Paśupata school in second century B.C. while D.R. Bhandarkar suggested on the basis of Mathura-pillar inscription (of the time of Chandragupta-II) that Lākuliśa belonged to the second quarter of the First century A.D. But Pathak is inclined on a date for Lākuliśa in Circa 2nd century B.C. as proposed by R.G. Bhandarkar. The

Cintra Prasasti of Saṃgadeva refers to the four disciples of Lākuliśa, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya from whom four branches (of Lākuliśa sect) sprung forth.

Philosophy of the Lākuliśa-Paśupata Sect

Nyāya-Paśupata Philosophy

Āchārya Haribhadra Suri in his *Shed-Darsana-Samuchchaya* observes that the adherents of Nyāya school were Śaivas, while the *Vaiśeṣhikas* were Paśupatas. It is a fact that the followers of both Nyāya and *Vaiśeṣhika* were devoted Śiva Worshipers.

Pañchārthika Philosophy

Besides the general affiliation with the Nyāya School, the specific philosophy of the Paśupatas was *Pañchārthika*. The *Pañchārthalakula-anṇaya* and the *Pañchārthika* sects have been mentioned in inscriptions. This *Pañchārthika* or the five categories propounded by Lākuliśa in the Paśupata Sūtra are (i) Effect (*Kārya*), (ii) Cause (*Kāraṇa*), (iii) Religious Practices (*Vidhi*), (iv) Yoga and (v) Cessation of miseries (*Dukhānta*).

1. Effect (*Kārya*) is that which is not independent. It is of three kinds: (i) Cognition (*Vidyā*), (ii) Organs (*Kala*), and (iii) Individual soul (*Paśu*). Of these cognition is the property of the individual and is of two kinds: (i) External and (ii) Internal. External cognition is of two kinds, (i) distinct and (ii) indistinct. The individual (*Paśu*) is that which has individualism (*Paśutva*). It is of two kinds, (i) Pure and (ii) Impure.
2. Cause (*Kāraṇa*) is that which effects the destruction of the whole creation and its prosperity or promotion. Though it is one, still on account of its various properties and functions it has many forms, such as Lord (*Patī*), naturally powerful (*Sadya*), etc. He is, therefore, the eternal ruler.
3. Yoga is the connecting of the individual soul with God through the conceptual faculty (*Citta*). It is of two kinds, consisting in (i) action and (ii) Cessation from action.
4. *Vidhi* (Religious Practice) is of two kinds, Primary and Secondary. *Vidhi* or process, is an operation which effects or brings about righteousness.
5. *Dukhānta* or final deliverance is of two kinds, (i) total destruction of misery and (ii) an elevated condition consisting in the possession of the power of knowing and acting.

The Paśupatas are devoted to Śiva. According to scriptures, they worship Śiva besmeared with ashes and wearing Jata-Mukuta.

Growth of Lākuliśa Paśupata Sect in Orissa : During the Bhauma rule which started from A.D. 736, it is the Paśupata sect of Śaivism that had a period of ascendancy in Orissa. The frequent occurrence of the Lākuli images on the early temples of Bhubaneswar has a great significance on the growth of this sect. The Lākuli images are found within

Chaitya arches in the early groups of temples at Bhubaneswar and have four small male figures, two on each side with a Pustaka held in the left hand and the right showing *abhaya-mudra*. They are seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The central figure Lākuliśa, holds a *Lākuta* and other hand shows *Vyākhyāna-mudra*. The four male figures found in association with the central figure are certainly the representation of the four disciples of Lākuliśa.

The presence of Lākuliśa images on the early Bhubaneswar temples indicate that such monuments were associated with this sect. According to K.C. Panigrahi the names of some temples of Bhubaneswar indicate that they were connected with the Paśupata sect and an inscription on the Jagamohan of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple proves that its original name was Parāśara. The name of the temple Kapileśvara at Bhubaneswar were possibly associated with Kapila who was one of the Paśupata teachers. The names of the temples like Mitreśvara and Nakuleśvara were also connected with the names of Paśupata teachers, according to a tradition. It is to be said that Nakuleśvara, Kapil and Parasara were all famous Paśupata teachers. According to K.C. Panigrahi there was a practice with the sect to set up a lingam to represent to K.C. Panigrahi there was a practice with the sect to set up a Lingam to represent a dead teacher and to erect a temple for it. According to a tradition mentioned in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, Yama the builder of the Yemeśvara temple have a splendid *Matha* to a Paśupatāchārya who lived in the close vicinity of the temple.

On the basis of the chronology of the Śaiva monuments, associated with Paśupata sect, we can guess about the growth and development of Lākuliśa-Paśupata sect in Orissa. From the study of the sculptures of the Lākuliśa we get some idea about the development of this particular sect.

Two images of Lākuliśa occur on the front facade and the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, assigned to the 7th century A.D. by K.C. Panigrahi. Each of these two images holds a club and sits in *Yogāsana*. A Ghosh and K.C. Panigrahi believes that the temple was originally named after the Paśupata teacher Parāśara. This temple contains bas-reliefs depicting several incidents of Śiva's life. This is the earliest Śaiva monument of Orissa, where we find the presence of Lākuliśa images, and it can be summarised that 7th century was the period of the growth of Lākuliśa Paśupata sect in Orissa. Thus, Paraśurāmeśvara temple built during the 7th A.D. is the earliest evidence about the growth of this particular sect in Orissa.

The next Śaiva monument where we get Lākuliśa is the Vaital temple belonging to the Bhaumakara period. The temple bears two inscriptions on the *jagamohan*. According to K.C. Panigrahi, Palaeographically the date of this temple can be placed in the latter half of the 8th century A.D. A Ghosh identifies the Subhakaradeva of the inscription with Subhakaradeva-I of the Bhaumakara-Dynasty and S.C. De has supported this idea of A. Ghosh. Thus, there is no doubt that this temple belongs to the 8th century A.D. The rule of the Bhaumakaras over the region around Bhubaneswar is proved by inscriptions existing in the nearest hills of Dhauli and Udayagiri. In the south side of the temple, there occurs an image of Lākuliśa with his four disciples. It is similar in all respects of the Lākuliśa

image on the easter facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Without any doubt we can say that this temple is associated with the Lākuliśa Paśupata sect. Thus this sect was quite popular in Orissa during the Bhaumakara period.

R.D. Banerji seems to think that in Bhubaneswar the Mukteśvara temple was the immediate successor of the Praśurāmeśvara temple. Although the Mukteśvara possess architectural and sculptural affinities with the Brahmeśvara (A.D. 1060), in point of chronology but the former is earlier than the latter, according to Percy Brown this temple was constructed in 950 A.D. K.C. Panigrahi, thinks that this temple was constructed during the rule of the Somavamśi period in between (C.A. 950-1150). The iconographical peculiarities of this temple associate it with the cult of Lākuliśa Paśupata sect. We find the miniature images of Lākuliśa on the body of the temple. They are usually within ornamented Chaitya arches showing various *mudrās* such as *Yoga*, *Bhūmisparsa* and *Vyākhyāna* and in some cases with *Yogāpattas* tied to their knees. It may be said that during the period of construction of this temple the Paśupata sect was in a flourishing condition in Orissa.

17

Kuṇḍalinī

Several years ago I gave a talk on *kuṇḍalinī* to the *paṇḍits* and scholars attending a Tantric conference in Varanasi. I started my talk by saying, "Today I will, according to my intellect, according to what I have experienced, and according to the grace of my masters, put before you who are soaked in the secrets of Śaivism, something of the knowledge of *kuṇḍalinī*. Please hear it attentively, with awareness" I then began the body of my address with this auspicious verse:

Kaulikī Kuṇḍalinī is revealed in the Kula system. This Kaulikī Kuṇḍalinī, when rising from Mūlādhāra *cakra*, vibrates the six wheels (*cakras*) residing in the central path (*suṣumnā*) by supreme motion and brings them into existence. By that supreme motion, She produces exquisite sound, which is filled with joy. Then She reaches the abode of Lord Śiva, Who resides in the thousand-spoked wheel (*sahasrārdhacara*) in the skull and, pleasing Him, pervades the whole universe. May this Kaulikī Kuṇḍalinī bestow upon you all the flows and streams of the state of universal bliss (*jagadānanda*).

Kaulikī Kuṇḍalinī is that state of *kuṇḍalinī* described in the Kula system. Contained in Kaulikī Kuṇḍalinī is the threefold *kuṇḍalinī*: *prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī*, *cit-kuṇḍalinī*, and *parā-kuṇḍalinī*. Now, I will describe the nature and form of *kuṇḍalinī*.

Kuṇḍalinī is often considered to be the Creative Energy (*visarga-śakti*) of Lord Śiva. This Creative Energy of Lord Śiva, called *kuṇḍalinī*, is filled with complete I-Consciousness (*aham vimarśa*) and according to the Tantras it is coiled three and one-half times and rests in *mūlādhāra cakra*.

What are these three and one-half coils ? I-Consciousness which is attached to objectivity is the first coil. I-Consciousness which is attached to the cognitive cycle is the second coil? I-Consciousness attached to subjective consciousness is the third coil. Where *pramiti* is residing in that I-Consciousness, that is its one-half coil.

What is *pramiti* ? To understand *pramiti* you must first understand what *pramātā* is. *Pramātā* is that state of the knower where the knower is attached to the known, to the object. In *pramātā* there are traces of objectivity before the knower. Where these traces of objectivity are also dissolved in the state of *pramātā*, that state of *pramātā* is called *pramiti*. This is the secret of the Tantras.

When Kuṇḍalini Śakti, the embodiment of the supreme Energy of I-Consciousness taken the support of Her free will (*svātantrya*), the whole manifestation of the universe takes place. How does this occur? The freedom of Kuṇḍalini Śakti has three phases. In the first phase, Her freedom is directed toward objectivity (*bahiravimukhya*). It is not resting in objectivity, rather it is at the point when it is just about to go outside. Here the tendency is toward objectivity, toward outward creation. It is this phase of Her freedom that is the main cause of the manifestation of the universe. The whole manifestation of the universe takes place by means of this main cause, *svātantrya*, directed towards objectivity.

When she accomplishes this kind of action by the free Will (*svātantrya*) of Her Creative Energy, She is resting in her own nature. It creates in Her own nature and it exists in Her own nature. In this state, as that supreme Energy of God Consciousness, which has complete free Will, She perceives the whole objective world as one with Her nature. In this state the objective world is not separate from Her nature. Here She takes the form of a sleeping serpent. This state of *kuṇḍalini* called *prāṇa-kuṇḍalini* are one. In all Tantras, *śakti-kuṇḍalini* is described in this way.

She gives the light of consciousness to everyone, but she does not produce anything.

—Tantrāloka 3:139

Śakti-kuṇḍalini is the producer of light (*prakāśa*) in everyone. Here the word "light" means knowledge consciousness. In the individual this light is produced in five classes. The light of sound (*śabda*), the light of touch (*sparsa*), the light of form (*rūpa*), the light of taste (*rasa*), and the light of smell (*gandha*). These are the five classes. And these five classes are not the only light. Light is also found in the five sensations: the sensation of seeing, the sensation of touch, the sensation of hearing, the sensation of smelling, and the sensation of taste. She produces this light, and yet actually She has not come out from her nature. She is resting there in her own nature. Although it seems to everyone that she has stepped out of her nature she has not. And yet, She is not lost. Although you see all of this manifestation, this manifestation resides in Her own nature. In the centre of Her own nature, She has not gone astray.

This essence of creativity is just the splendor of Her own nature of complete independence (*svātantrya*). And, although it is creative, nothing is created. She relishes the taste of Her own glorious nature. This relishing is designated as the Energy of Lord Śiva, which, in Her own nature, takes the form of the first sprout that gives rise to the manifestation of the universe of one hundred and eighteen worlds. And as it sprouts, so it can be withdrawn.

According to the statement of Śaiva scriptures, when a *yogi* takes the support of attentive awareness and meditates on the nature (*svarūpa*) of Śiva—which is one with the *yogi's* own nature—and when that *yogi* achieves the state of absorption (*samāveśa*), that absorption is such that it dissolves the whole universe in his own nature. When this *yogi*

meditates in this way he achieves the Creative Energy (*visarga-śakti*) of Lord Śiva and perceives the state of the supreme movement (*spanda*) of Energy in his own nature. He then gains entry into the state of *śakti-kūṇḍalinī*.

The nature of *śakti-kūṇḍalinī* is described in the *Tantrasadbhāva* as follows:

That energy, supreme and subtle, is above the boundary of caste. It resides in each and every human being protecting their real heart (*hṛdbindu*). There, taking the form of a sleeping serpent, She embraces that heart in her own nature. O Pārvatī ! There She rests in deep sleep. She does not understand anything except Her own nature. Although She takes the moon, fire, sun, all the stars, and all the fourteen worlds, and makes them rest in Her own body, that Goddess (*devī*) appears just as if She had lost consciousness because of some heavy intoxicant or poison.

That *śakti-kūṇḍalinī* is described as follows in the *Tantrāloka*:

The seventeenth Kalā is filled with the embodiment of supreme nectar.

—Tantrāloka 3:138a

The Creative Energy (*visarga-śakti*), *śakti-kūṇḍalinī*, is also known as the medium energy (*parāparā-śakti*) of Lord Śiva. This energy is the seed (*bīja*) of all other energies because it is from here that they flow forth. the supreme state of *visarga-śakti* is supreme (*parā*) *kūṇḍalinī* and the last state of *visarga-śakti* is *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī*.

Kāma-Kalā

Now I want to clarify for you the important and often misunderstood event known as *kāma-kalā*. *Kāma-kalā* refers to the conjunction or togetherness of the two aspects of any sensation, whether it be tasting, enjoying, or touching. All these are *kāma-kalā*. The conjunction of two (*kāma*) does not only refer to sex as some would believe. The conjunction of two does exist in the sexual act, but it also exists when the eye is united with form. It also exists when the ear is united with sound, the nose united with smell, the skin united with touch.

The aspirant of the Kula system is meant to experience the state of *kāma-kalā*. The Kaula aspirant meditates on these conjunction in their various manifestations. He meditates on them in the sexual act, and he meditates on them in form (*rūpa*), in taste (*rasa*), in sound (*śabda*), to touch (*sparsa*), and in smell (*gandha*). Everywhere in these unifications, in these conjunctions, he experiences the state of *kūṇḍalinī*. This is called *caryā-krama*, which is succession (*krama*) in the activity (*caryā*) of the senses.

Śakti-kūṇḍalinī is experienced by this Kaula yogi when he enters the absorption (*samāveśa*) of *siddha-yoginī*. The traditional understanding of *siddha-yoginī* is that it refers to the unification of two people such as occurs in the sexual act: *siddha*, the male element, and *yoginī*, the female element. This is the customary meaning of *siddha-yoginī*. But the

It can take place in that unification where *siddha* refers to the eyes and *yoginī* the form, or *siddha* can be the ear and *yoginī* the sound. I am not referring to the physical eye or physical ear, but to the energy of seeing and the energy of hearing. Physical seeing or hearing is not the energy of seeing or hearing. For meditation in *caryā-krama* the sensation of the knowledge of this cognition (*jñānendriyas*) is utilized. This is known as the reality of *kāma-tattva*.

Our great teacher Abhivanagupta has also clarified this in his *Tantrāloka*:

In the Kulaguhvara Tantra we are told that the energy of Creation (*visarga*) is found in all conjunctions because it is the creative energy. By the contact of two, something else is created. It may be joy, it may be satisfaction, but something is created. This energy of Creation (*visarga*) is the letter *ḥ*. This letter is a half letter and is only partly produced. It is not a complete "ha." This *ḥ* which is indistinctly produced is called the reality (*tattva*) of *kāma* (wilful desire) because *kāma* is only fulfilled when it is united. When it is united that is the true state of *kāma*.

—*Tantrāloka* 3:146

In the *Vātūlanātha Sūtra* we also taught:

Supreme unification takes place through the contact of *siddhas* and *yoginis*. This is the great festival of unification (*mahāmelāpa*).

The truth is that all contacts are sexual. So this verse not only refers to physical sexual contact, it refers to all sensual contacts. In this way, hearing is a sexual contact. Seeing is a sexual contact. Smelling is a sexual contact. Touching is a sexual contact. Tasting is a sexual contact. So in this verse, the word *siddha* refers to I-Consciousness and the word *yoginī* refers to whatever objectivity united with it.

The word *mahāmelāpa* in this verse means "festival of supreme meeting." This describes that state of *śakti-kundalinī* where the supreme meeting of Śiva and Śakti takes place. If that fortunate Kaula yogi achieves and experiences this state of *śakti-kundalinī* for only one second, then he has achieved the unification of Śiva and Śakti. This is that state where Śiva and Śakti cannot be distinguished from each other (*mahāsāmarasya*), where the individuality of Śiva and Śakti is lost. Śiva is everywhere and Śakti is everywhere. It is just like mixing together two containers of milk in one pot. These two containers of milk, once united, cannot be separated. This is the state of that supreme union where Śiva and Śakti become one with each other, where they cannot be experienced separately. In that state of the great festival of union (*mahāmelāpa*), which takes place by the contact (*samīghatṭa*) of *siddhas* and *yoginis*, the Kaula yogi perceives the state of *śakti-kundalinī* and can hereafter do whatever he likes. Henceforth there is no sin for him in any action.

You must clearly understand that only this yogi, and no one else, is fit to practice *caryā-krama*. This means that only those yogis who are established in the awareness (*vimarśa*) of their nature of Śiva, who have hearts as broad as the ocean, and who are seated in that state that is above all, have the right to practice *caryā-krama*. Others who try

to practice it without these qualifications will only fail and cause themselves difficulties. In this connection, Kṣemarāja wrote the following verse:

If those yogis who falsely imagine that they are Kaula yogis attempt *caryā-krama*, they will not be able to hold it. They are not fit for this communication, the rising of śakti-kunḍalinī. To experience this state of *caryā-krama* ■ yogi must possess a heart complete in fullness. He must be broad-minded like an ocean, for it is an ocean where all moving streams become unmoving and soundlessly rest.

—Spanda Nirmaya

So when this yogi, on the occasion of the co-union of *siddhas* and *yoginis*, which occurs during the practice of *caryākrama*, touches *kāma-kalā* and gains entry into *viśatattva*, he will experience the state of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī*. This *viśatattva* is the state of the great meeting of *siddhas* and *yoginis* called *mahāmelāpa*. In the divine scriptures it is also called *kāma-tattva* because, in both cases, it is the grasping of the moment of union.

Prāṇa-Kunḍalinī

This Creative Energy (*cit-visarga-śakti*) of Lord Śiva is filled with the taste of Her consciousness. The nature of *visarga-śakti* ■ to create one's self from one's own Self in one's own Self. (Tantrāloka 3: 141) To create the self from the Self is the Self in the reality of Creative Energy (*visarga-śakti*).

Abhinavagupta tells us that when *kunḍalinī* experiences the state of the Creative Energy of consciousness in Her own nature then, ■ the very beginning of creation, breath (*prāṇa*) comes forth as the first creation. This is not the physical breath. It is the vibrating breath of life (*prāṇana*). This first manifestation of *visarga-śakti* is the seed of *prāṇa*. This is the stage of the vibrating breath, the breath of life called *prāṇana*.

When the consciousness of God consciousness descends, when this consciousness flows out in the creative cycle, She takes the form of vibrating breath. What is this breath? As example, take the creation of life within a woman. When a woman conceives a child, that child is first produced with this vibrating breath. At that time there is no actual breathing, there is only life. That is vibrating breath. When this Creative Energy (*visarga-śakti*) has taken the form of vibrating breath (*prāṇana*), the scriptures tell us that this breath is in the form of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī*. In the next movement of this vibration the five states of breath—*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna* and *vyāna*—begin to form. At this stage, however, these five breaths are not yet manifested. Because of this, you will only find at this stage the state of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī*. In this state of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī* only the blissful state of one's nature appears.

This Energy of Consciousness (*cit-śakti*), which is in the form of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī*, appear in the first state of the creative pulse (*visarga*). The yogi understands this. He has experienced it.

According to the *Spanda Kārikās*, verses 24 and 25, Vasugupta tells us that the

centre of the two breaths is the way. Through this way you will gain entry in rising. In ordinary life (*vyāvahāra*) this way is closed and blocked. It does not seem passable. Still it will open when *prāṇa-kundalini* occurs. When the supreme energy of consciousness is concentrated in *ūrdhva-mārga*, where the breathe neither goes out or in, you are carried to, and rest in, the centre. This center is *ūrdhva-mārga*. When you concentrate on that *ūrdhva-mārga* with continual awareness, the incoming breath (known as *candra*, the moon) and the outgoing breath (known as *sūrya*, the sun) spontaneously enter in the pathway of the central channel (*suṣumnā*) and rush down to *mūlādhāra cakra*. Then, as *kundalini*, it rises from the *mūlādhāra* to the *sahasrārḍha cakra*. Passing through the subtle opening of *brahmaraṇḍhra* it leaves the entanglements of this body and enters that infinite expanse of God Consciousness. Here breathing in and breathing out no longer exist. In this state you must give wholehearted, one-pointed attention to that vibrating centre. If you divert your consciousness from that point for one moment, you will suddenly come out of that state and fall in the void state called *pralaya-kāla*. At that point you will not yet be in the diverse cycle of the world filled with thoughts, you will be in voidness (*śūnya*). After falling into the void state you will open your eyes and again be as an ordinary person.

To achieve this highest state you cannot practice half-heartedly for a half an hour in the morning and a half an hour in the evening and a hour at midnight. That won't help you. You have to do it with continuity. Otherwise there is no hope in this life, there is only hope in the next life. The reality is that the whole universe is filled with Consciousness, and yet that Consciousness is lost to everyone. That is the cause of our being thrown in the cycle of *māyā*, filled with manifold tortures, and forced to experience the pain of disease and repeated births and deaths. That yogi who is always attentive (*prabuddha*) in this state will not lose his consciousness even if he were put under an aesthetic. The maintenance of attentiveness is a truly great thing. Vasugupta explains all this in his *Spanda Kārikās*. When this Śaiva yogi does not allow awareness to be absent for even one moment, remaining always one-pointed, established in the state of Śiva, directing his mind towards the state of absorption (*samāveśa-dāśā*), then by the power of his one-pointedness, both breaths—the breathing in and breathing out—spontaneously enter in the central channel (*suṣumnā*).

After entering the central channel, the breath energy (*prāṇa śakti*) of this yogi attains the seat of the *mūlādhāra cakra*. And then, as *prāṇa-kundalini*, it begins to rise in the central channel from *mūlādhāra cakra* towards the thousand-spoked *cakra* (*sahasrārḍha*), the energy of breath (*prāṇa-śakti*) blooms on all sides and this yogi experiences the state of *prāṇa-kundalini*.

Yogis experience this state of *prāṇa-kundalini* in two ways. For some yogis, when the breath enters in the central channel the incoming breath (*apāna*) and the outgoing breath (*prāṇa*) initially descend (*adhomukha*). Here both ingoing and outgoing breath are naturally collected together. This is a spontaneous state where the breath is collected in one point positioned to descend. It is the state known as *lambikā*. The state of *lambikā* cannot be established by any physical means because it is very subtle. There are four passages in

lambikā. These two breaths, when they take the position of descending, arrive at the *lambikā* that is the passage from the right side. From left side there is another *lambikā*. The *lambikā* that exists on the left side is presently active in us while the *lambikā* that exists on the right side is blocked. At the moment when the incoming and the outgoing breath collect and take the position of flowing down, the breath stops. There is no breathing in and out. The ordinary course of breathing ceases, and you feel a choking sensation. Then the *lambikā* on the right side opens and the breath enters through that opening and rushes down.

When the breath gains entry through the *lambikā*, it produces a sound which is like that internal sound produced when you close the ears by pressing your fingers on them. It is a continuous close the ears by pressing your fingers on them. It is a continuous sound like the sound of the ocean. A sound like this is produced when the two breaths gain entry into the central channel through the *lambikā* and travel to the *mūlādhāra cakra* where they rest.

At that point the *mūlādhāra cakra* is penetrated. At the *mūlādhāra cakra* there is a wheel—the Sanskrit word *cakra* means “wheel.” When the *mūlādhāra cakra* is penetrated, the *yogī* experiences the wheel (*cakra*) beginning to move with great force and sound. It moves in a clockwise direction. This is the state experienced by *yogīs* at the first moment this occurs.

Here the breath no longer exists. It has taken the form of *kuṇḍalinī*. Now *kuṇḍalinī* advances from the *mūlādhāra cakra* and rises to penetrate the *cakra* residing at the navel, known as the *nābhi cakra*. At this *cakra* there also exists a wheel, and after being penetrated, this *cakra* also begins to move rapidly and make sound. At that time, the *yogī* does not feel that the *nābhi cakra* alone is moving; he feels that the *nābhia cakra* and the *mūlādhāra cakra* are both moving, just like wheels in a factory. Both *cakras* are moving and both are producing a sound. The *yogī* hears this sound and this sound produces joy. All this I am relating from my own experience.

Now from the *nābhi cakra* this breath travels in the form of *kuṇḍalinī* up to the heart and penetrates the *cakra* residing there. This *cakra* is known as the heart (*hṛit*) *cakra*. After being penetrated, this *cakra* of the heart also begins to move rapidly and becomes filled with sound. The *yogī* feels this. Here also, the *yogī* not only experiences the movement of the heart *cakra*. He experiences the movement of *nābhi cakra* and *mūlādhāra cakra* as well. He experiences and feels the movements of all three *cakras*.

In this way successively, breath in the form of *kuṇḍalinī* continues to rise and penetrates the *cakra* of the throat (*kanṭha*) and the *cakra* or *bhrū-madhya* found between the two eyebrows. With this penetration, both of these *cakras* begin to move rapidly along with sound. This is what the *yogī* experiences?

In this way the *yogī*, in this state of manifestation of *prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī*, experiences the movement of all these *cakras*, right from *mūlādhāra cakra* up to *bhrū-madhya cakra*, simultaneously just like a great machine. From that very moment, the *yogī* experiences the appearance of the eight Yogic powers, *animā*, etc.

Those *yogīs* who are unfortunate experience the state of *prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī* in a second

way. Their experience of the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* is the same as that experienced by great yogis up to and including the experience of *lambikā* and the travelling from *lambikā* to the *mūlādhāra cakra*. At that point it is expected that from *mūlādhāra cakra*, *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* will rise, piercing the *cakras* beginning with the *cakra* of the navel, then the *cakra* of the heart, and so forth until it reaches and pierces *bhrū-madhya cakra*. But for the unfortunate yogi this does not happen. For this yogi, when *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* reaches the *mūlādhāra cakra* the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* is reversed and he at once experiences the *cakra* of *bhrū-madhya* in movement, not the *cakra* of the navel. After that he experiences the *cakra* of the throat (*kaṇṭha*) in movement. Both are moving simultaneously. Then he experiences the *cakra* of the heart in movement, and after that he experiences the *cakra* of the navel in movement. Finally, he experiences the *mūlādhāra cakra* in movement. All of these *cakras* move with sound. When *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* rises in this fashion it is an indication that this yogi is attached to worldly pleasures. For him traces of attachment remain. This is the second way *kūṇḍalinī* rises, but actually it is not rising. It is falling.

For this yogi there is no chance of possessing the eight great powers of yoga. On the contrary, this yogi has entered into a state of absorption which is said to be devilish (*piśācāveśa*). It is not a correct absorption and it causes this yogi to become the victim of an unending series of obstacles during the rest of his life.

Why does this happen? When ■ is not the will of Lord Śiva for *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* to rise properly, it does not rise properly? Everything takes place only when Lord Śiva wishes. According to the *Ratnamālāsāstra*:

When this state is established below, and when from there it penetrates higher and higher, that is the state of liberation (*mokṣa*). That is the state where yogis become fittingly qualified for the attainment of knowledge. But on the contrary, when these states are penetrated downward from above and in reverse, that is incorrect absorption (*piśācāveśa*). That is the indication that hereafter this yogi's life will be filled with obstacles.

Penetrating Initiation

The Yogi's experience of the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* and the resulting penetration of the *cakras*—beginning with *mūlādhāra cakra* and ending with *bhrū-madhya cakra* or *śahasrārdha cakra*—can take many different forms. These spontaneous variations in the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* are known as “penetrating initiations” (*vedha-dīkṣā*). This is explained in the *Tantrāloka* by Abhinavagupta:

This initiation of penetration is described in different ways in the Tantras. Here the Yogi has to experience the initiation of penetration by which he rises from one *cakra* to another and simultaneously experiences these *cakras* in movement. By this, the eight great powers of yoga are possessed by yogis.

In the *Kulaguhvara Tantra* penetrating initiation (*vedha-dikṣā*) is said to be six-fold. *Mantra-vedha* is first, *nāda-vedha* is second, *bindu-vedha* is third, *śākta-vedha* is fourth, *bhujāṅga-vedha* is fifth, and sixth is the supreme (*para*) *vedha*.

These six-fold penetrating initiations revealed in the *Kulaguhvara Tantra* all take place in *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī*. When *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* rises from *mūlādhāra cakra* to *bhrū-madhya cakra* or *sahasrārḍha cakra*, the state of the *yogī* and the impressions acting on him determine his experience. These six-fold penetrating initiations each reflect a different experience in the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī*. The varieties of penetrating initiations come to the aspirant depending on his desires and longings.

Mantra-vedha, the first piercing, is that piercing where the *yogī* hears the sound of a *mantra*. This kind of piercing takes place when the *yogī* intensely desires and longs for the recognition of Supreme I-Consciousness. In this case, when *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* rises, it takes the form of *mantra*, and the *yogī* hears a *mantra* such as *om*, *Siva*, *aham*, or *so'ham*. At the same time, he feels: "I am this *kūṇḍalinī*. I am one with this *kūṇḍalinī*." This is called *mantra*. His breath (*prāṇa*) becomes full of bliss, ecstasy, and joy. By the power of complete I-Consciousness, this blissful breath penetrates all the *cakras* from *mūlādhāra* to *bhrū-madhya* or *sahasrārḍha*. This kind of penetration is called *mantra-vedha*.

Another variety of piercing is known as *nāda-vedha*. This type of piercing occurs when the *yogī* desires to uplift people. There is an intense desire: "I am doing this practice solely for the benefit of mankind." Here, when the blissful force of breath touches *mūlādhāra cakra*, this breath is transformed into *nāda*. Literally the word *nāda* means "sound." It is called *nāda* because the *yogī* experiences the sound of a drum beating. "Dum dum dum," the constant sound of a drum is heard by this *yogī* during the rise of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī*. This initiation comes to the *yogī* who wants to explain the Universal Reality to others.

Another kind of piercing is called *bindu-vedha*. This type of piercing takes place when the *yogī* is attached to, and longs for, comfort, ease, happiness, and joy. Here the blissful force of breath is transformed into a fountain of semen. The word *bindu* means semen (*vīrya*). The *yogī* experiences that it is a fountain of semen which is rising from *mūlādhāra cakra* to *brahmarandhira* in the form of an ant because that blissful force of breath is transformed into energy. He feels that power is being developed. This is the rise of energy in *kūṇḍalinī*. He feels that he is the embodiment of energy. The sound is creating power. It is stimulating—indeed it is the greatest stimulation. Because this particular kind of penetration in *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* is filled with power (*śakti*), it is called *śakta-vedha*.

Bhujāṅga-vedha is that particular variety of piercing where, when *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* is rising, the *yogī* feels that a serpent is rising and producing a serpent sound. This kind of penetration takes place when the *yogī* has the impression that the form and reality of *kūṇḍalinī* is serpent power. In this cast the rise of the blissful force of breath in the form of *prāṇa-kūṇḍalinī* takes the form of a cobra (*bhujāṅga*). He truly experiences that a cobra is

rising, with its tail remaining in and touching *mūlādhāra cakra* and stretching to penetrate all of the *cakras* up to and including *brahmarandhra*.

Finally there is piercing known as *para-vedha*. *Para-vedha* is the supreme *vedha*. This *Vedha* is experienced by those *yogīs* who are always bent upon finding the Lord and nothing else. They are not interested in this universe; they only want to give themselves completely to the Lord.

Supreme Kuṇḍalinī

Now we will touch upon the experience of supreme (*parā*) *kuṇḍalinī*. This supreme Creative Energy, *parā-kuṇḍalinī*, is experienced as one with supreme consciousness (*parā-citī*).

When the Supreme Creative Energy is directed towards Her internal nature (*svarūpa*), where all movement ends, She there relishes Her true state—the fullness of I-Consciousness (*pūrṇādharmā*) completely filled with God Consciousness. Then that I-Consciousness is diluted in consciousness-of-this, and consciousness-of-this is diluted in I-Consciousness. Here this fullness of I-Consciousness absorbs “thisness” and produces the oneness of internal *samādhi* and external experience (*vyutthāna*). Her own nature as the supreme Creative Energy and the world become one. They are experienced as being completely united, one with the other. There is absolutely no difference between them. This is the state of *krama-mudrā*. This is the state of *parā-kuṇḍalinī*. This is the state of *jagadānanda*.

In the *Tantrāloka* the definition of *jagad-ānanda* ■ given in this way:

Abhinavagupta says, “My master Shambhunātha described *jagad-ānanda* as that state that is completely unencumbered, where bliss (*ānanda*) is found shining, where it is universally strengthened by the Supreme I-Consciousness of God, and where the six limbs of *yoga-bhāvanā*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *pratyāhāra*, *yoga*, and *samādhi*—and no longer used for required.”

—Tantrāloka 6:51-52

Now, according to my own experience, I want to tell you something more about this. When a Śaiva *yogī* has become worthy of the supreme grace (*tīvera-śaktipāta*) of Lord Śiva, and when his energy of breath (*prāṇa-śakti*) enters in the pathway of the central channel (*suṣumnā*), it does not touch the six *cakras* that are found there. Rather, it rises without the interruption of these six *cakras*, just like fountain rising up to the thousand-spoked (*sahasrārḍha*) *cakra*, and there it is filled with the bliss of God. Consciousness. At that very movement this *yogī* experiences the state of absorption of *krama-mudrā*.

In the *Krama Sūtra* it says that a *yogī* first enters *krama-mudrā* in the introverted state. Then, owing to the intensity of *krama-mudrā*, he emerges from the introverted state and enters into the outer, external cycle of consciousness.

First from outside, he goes inside, and then from inside he goes outside. This movement of going in and coming out and then again going in and coming out takes place by the force of the absorption (*samāveśa*) of *krama-mudrā*, not by the effort of the Yogī.

Where the yogī travels from outside to inside and then from inside to outside, just to come to the understanding that outside and inside are not different aspects but one, that is *krama-mudrā*.

There is one more thing for you to understand. The one who experiences this state of the absorption (*samāveśa*) of *krama-mudrā* experiences this whole universe melting into nothingness in the great sky of God Consciousness (*cid-gagana*). Although he opens his eyes and perceives that everything is melting into that state, yet—when he strives to come out of that state—it becomes very difficult for him. As it is very difficult for us to enter into that state, in the same way, it is very difficult for that yogī to come out of it.

But why does he want to come out? He wants to come out for the fun of it, but he cannot come out. The intensity of God Consciousness does to let him come out. Yet he struggles to come out. Then for a moment he rises up, and after that he again, filled with intoxication, rests inside. Then, again, he strives to come out. He continues trying to come out and he gets out briefly but then again he is united inside. This happens again and again and this called *krama-mudrā*.

It is just like the actions of swing, swinging back and forth, back and forth. One moment he comes out and in the next moment he rests in his own nature. By this process of *krama-mudrā* expressing the state of *kundalinī* inside and outside, he experiences the state of absorption (*samāveśa*) of supreme (*parā*) *kundalinī*. By this absorption the yogī of the Kula system enters that state which is pure, spotless, and without blemish (*nirāñjana*).

Here, there is no fear of death, no fear of falling, no fear of descending again into the world of limitation and bondage. This is the state known as *nirāñjana-tattva*, the pure and spotless element. It is the pathway of the energy of action (*kriyā-śakti*). So, in the end, the final yoga is the yoga in action. It is said, "When you find God in action, that action is pure and spotless (*nirāñjana*), it is supreme."

So according to the ordering of *kāma-kalā*, *kāma-tattva* resides in the energy of will (*icchā-śakti*), *viśa-tattva* resides in the energy of knowledge (*jñāna-śakti*), and *nirāñjana-tattva* resides in the energy of action (*kriyā-śakti*).

When these three states are united with each other, when *kāma-tattva* is united with *viśa-tattva* and with *nirāñjana-tattva*, that is the state of *Bhairava*.

So, in the same way, the divine scriptures of our Śaivism (*śaivāgamas*) explain that the energy of will, *icchā-śakti*, is *śakti-kundalinī*. The energy of knowledge, *jñāna śakti* is *prāṇa-kundalinī*, and the energy of action, *kriyā-śakti*, is *parā-kundalinī*.

18

Lingadharanachandrika's Work

The Lingadhārana is the most prominent mark and feature of the Lingayat religion and denotes what it is? All philosophy and practice of the religion hinge on it. Rightly therefore, the author of the book, Nandikeshwara, thinks it fit to vindicate and establish the creed of wearing Linga on the body mainly on the authority of certain Vedic texts which is his opinion would silence carping spirits and fault-finders of the creed. It is not only the Vedic texts, he says and maintains, but the whole range of authoritative Sanskrit literature like महाभारत, Purāṇās, and Smritis, supports and justifies the religious principle of wearing Linga on the body. At the outset of his work he states the objections to this principle and starts discussion. He begins with the discussion about the अंतर्लिङ्गधारण in the form of the search of ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग (Linga the Light), as it is the very basis of अंतःपूजा, He next proceeds to बाह्यलिङ्गधारण for बहिःपूजा. The author interprets the Vedic texts as laying down Lingadhārana with all pros and cons, with all possible objections raised, refutation stated and finally the conclusion arrived at. In this respect he is like all other commentators or भाष्यकारs of the philosophic literature. It is for scholars to see how far he is successful and how much he is justified in his interpretation. In our opinion he has performed the task admirably well, however fanciful it may look.

The author takes three texts from the नारायणोपनिषद्, one from the तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्, one from श्रीसूक्त, and two from the ऋग्वेद. He explains them as enjoining the wearing of Linga (इष्टलिङ्ग). His interpretation is, therefore, severely controversial and polemic. He shows his skill in dialectics and dialectical treatment of the subject. He seems to be quite well versed in Vedic, Purāṇik, and Smṛiti literature, in the literature of different religious sects, (Vaiṣṇava and others) and in the six schools of Indian philosophy, like तर्क, न्याय and मीमांसा (पूर्वमीमांसा), specially in the last. In the course of his interpretation he adduces many principles or maxims of logic established by पूर्वमीमांसा in support of his arguments. He quotes profusely specially from Purāṇās and Āgamas, in support of the view-point taken by him at a particular stage of the discussion and at the end of his explanation of a particular text. In our notes we have amply, almost exhaustively, commented on the

author's statements and references; we need not, therefore, say anything more about the particulars of the author's treatment of the subject.

Our information about the author is next to nothing. It is only from the colophons of various manuscripts that some meagre information can be had. The colophons of the printed edition, printed and published at Benares, gives no information about the author except that he was an authority on विशिष्टाद्वैत, which he could establish in disputation and which he held to be the essence of the teaching of वेद, वेदांत, उपनिषत्सु, Puraṇās, and history (महाभारत); he was the destructive elephant to the lotus of non-believers (in Lingadhāraṇa); he was like a sun to the frost in the form of पांचरात्र or Vaiṣṇava system; he was a lion to tear off the temples of the elephants in the form of dualist schools of philosophy. From this it is clear that he was a bigoted Śaiva and a Vēcrashāiva. One remarkable thing to be noticed is that he never names the अद्वैत philosophy of Lingayats as शैक्तिविशिष्टाद्वैत but only as विशिष्टाद्वैत. In this respect he seems to be a follower of नीलकण्ठशिवाचार्य, who himself is the follower of श्रीकण्ठ, a noted commentator of ब्रह्मसूत्रस. The colophon of the manuscript B contains more information about the author that he was a descendent of the family of one पंडिताराध्य; he was a son of one श्रीकरमहाराध्य; and he wrote the work on account of the inscription caused in him by his brother and by the grace extended to him by his brother, शंभुशेखर. We regret we have not been able to collect more information about the personal history of the author.

As regards the date of the author it can be fixed approximately from internal evidence. He refers to various authors in his work, from some of whom he quotes. The prominent authors he refers to are शिवयोगी (author of सिद्धांतशिखामणि), कालहस्तिदीक्षित, मंचण्ण, पंडिताराध्य, and अप्यव्यदीक्षित. पंडिताराध्य was probably बसव पंडिताराध्य; the author of the commentary on पुरुषसूक्त, नारायणोपनिषत्, तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत्, etc., as there is not work found so far by पंडिताराध्य as such. बसवपंडिताराध्य himself refers to अप्यव्यदीक्षित in his work. The author of लिंगधारण चंद्रिका therefore, comes later than both अप्यव्यदीक्षित and बसवपंडिताराध्य. We therefore, put the author in the 17th century A.D. It is likely that he was a वीरशैव आराध्य, being a descendant of आराध्यस of the Telugu country.

One noteworthy thing is that he discusses the objection raised that the Vedic text 'सर्वलिंगं स्यात्पति पाणिमंत्रं पवित्रं' has not been commented upon by विद्यारण्य (सायणाचार्य) the illustrious exegete of the Vedas, in the way the author does. We have noted all about this in our notes. But he does not say anything but keeps silent over the different interpretations of सायणाचार्य of the two Rīgvedic texts. The author does not attempt at explaining away the different interpretations.

The author's work on the whole is a notable and successful attempt at establishing the creed of Lingadhāraṇa in spite of any criticism that may be made against his explanation. Another noteworthy point is that identical interpretations of all the Vedic

texts taken by the author are to be found in सिद्धांतशिखामणि, which is very authoritative work in Sanskrit on the Veerashaiva एकोत्तरशतस्थल philosophy and practice, which 1010 states or steps are sub divisions of षट्स्थल. The author's explanations of the Vedic texts are a dialectical elaboration of the very short explanations of these texts in सिद्धांतशिखामणि in simple अनुष्टुप् metres. All these have been noted in our notes. All later Sanskrit writers of religious books follow the lead given by सिद्धांतशिखामणि. But it may be said to the credit of Nandikeshwar that the polemic dissertations are remarkably successful. We leave it to our readers to judge for themselves about these dissertations. The last section of the book is devoted to the vindication of the authoritativeness of Shīvagamas. This is similar to यामुनाचार्य's treatise (आगमप्रामाण्यम्) written to establish the authoritativeness of Vaishnavagamas. In this connection we refer readers to our essay on the Agamas in section VII and to our notes on the last section of Lingadhāranachandrikā.

The Commentary and the Commentator of Lingadhāranachandrikā

The work has been commented upon by Pandit महामहोपाध्याय शिवकुमार of Benares. The commentary is named "शरत्" as signifying to throw brilliant moonlight on the text so as to make it clear and easily intelligible to readers. He has done his work well. But it is a sorry fact that the Pandit, though a शिवभक्त, does not know anything of the Lingayat or Veerashaiva religion. His commentary is naturally profuse and elaborate on the Vedic text quoted by Nandikeshwar. But his commentary is very brief and does not throw any light on the principles of the Lingayat religion. It may be none of his fault as the commentator was no Lingayat and had not studied, or rather, had no reason to study Lingayat religious books well. In many places he explains wrongly. For instance his commentary on 'शिवस्य दहरोपासनोपास्यत्व विधानेन अत्र देवतातरविधानेनऽनियतविषयकत्वापत्तेः', (text, page 4) is quite inaccurate; because he takes दहरोपासना as प्रतिकोपासना, which is repudiated by Lingayatism on account of the अहंशोपासना taught by it. The relevant portion of the commentary is:

अनियतविषयकत्वापत्तेरिति । ननु शालग्रामे जलादौ चैकस्थिन्नेव स्थानेऽनेकदेवतानां पूजादिप्रदर्शनेन प्रतीकेष्वेऽपि उपासनाभेदेन न दोष इति चेन्मैवम् etc. etc." In some places he is very unsympathetic and adverse to the author. The commentary on the सूत्र यजदेवमूजासंगतिकरणदानेषु" quoted by the author (see page 70 of the text), will make this evident. It is: यजधातोः "यजदेव पूजासंगतिकरणदानेषु" इति पाणिनीयधातुपाठ—दक्षितसंगत्यर्थकत्वोपपादनक्लेशाश्रयणमपि व्यर्थम् । यजंत इत्यस्य अत्यन्तप्रसिद्धपूजयंत इत्यर्थ इय संगच्छंत इत्यर्थ विचारवतां श्रद्धानुत्पत्तेः बहूनां स्वार्थसचकानां सद्मत्वेन कस्यचिद्वाक्यस्यैतादृशविलिख्यव्याख्यानेन त्विष्टोपयोगित्वोपपादेन प्रयोजनाभावाच्च ।

The commentator was paid for the commentary and he did his duty accordingly as a hack-writer. He makes no secret of this and he says in one of his invocatory verses:

लोकैषणा भवत्येषा यद्यप्यत्र प्रवर्तिका ।
तथापि किञ्चिदौरीशस्तुष्येदिति मनोगतम् ।

The commentator, therefore, does it as a matter of business and not because he wanted to explain the religious principles well for the behoof of the students of comparative Religion. Other commentators like वाचस्पतिमित्र, विज्ञानभक्षु and a host of others have immortalised themselves by explaining the works they commented on, because they loved the Shastras and loved to explain out of admiration for or full faith in the principles of the Shastras. Theirs was sympathy and love for learning for its own sake and desired to convey the learning through their commentary. But in the case of Pandit शिवकुमार it was a different matter, viz., monetary gain. He was neither a Lingayat nor a student of Lingayat religious literature. He, therefore, lacked the equipment required and expected of a commentator, namely, sympathy and real insight into the religion. We do not and should not reasonably find fault with his commentary. We may simply point out that the Swami of Kashimath (Jangamwadi of Benares), a pontifical seat of विश्वासार्थ्य, one of the five Lingayat आचार्यसः, could find no competent Lingayat scholar to comment on the work. It shows a sad bankruptcy of Sanskrit scholars among the Lingayats. The Swamis themselves, the heads of such high sees and similar big influential maths, should lack in requisite scholarship and insight into their own religion, for the promulgation and propagation of which they are intended, is a regrettable commentary on the present state of affairs and the present of the Lingayat religion. It was therefore, thought proper not to print the commentary alongwith the text.

19

The Lingaraja Temple

The Brahmesvara temple was built by Kolāvatī Devi, the mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśari and this Udyota Keśari is no other than the king of the same name who granted the Bālijhari copper plate. As the name Udyota Keśari is found after Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, who was defeated by Rajendra Chōla 1024-25 A.D., his date is to be assigned after 1025 A.D. Two kings named Nahuṣa and Yayāti II preceded Udyota and if we allot 25 to 30 years for them, the date of succession of Udyota Keśari can be assigned to 1050-1055. A.D., and the date of the Brahmesvara temple which was erected in the 18th year of his reign thus comes to some time near 1070 A.D. R. Chanda writes in his note on *The Lingaraja or the Great Temple of Bhubaneswar* that 'between the style of decoration of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja there is considerable resemblance, the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja represent a single line of artistic tradition, the latter monument having been in all probability erected by one of the ancestors of Udyota Keśari, say about 1004 A.D.'

The Ganga king Rājarāja I of Kalinganagara defeated the king of Utkala in 1075-76 A.D. On the other hand the inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyota Keśari show the opulence and power of the Somakuli Keśari dynasty of Orissa and the weakness of the dynasty may naturally be attributed to a successor of Udyota Keśari after his death before 1075 A.D. During the period of 50 years from 1025 to 1075 A.D. we find from inscriptions of the Somakuli kings the names of Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Udyota Keśari and as the Brahmesvara temple was built in the 18th year of reign of Udyota Keśari, we may safely say that Udyota Keśari ascended the throne about in 1050 A.D. If 20 years are allotted to Yayāti II, he ascended the throne ■ 1030 A.D. Stirling recorded the following tradition in connection with the construction of the Lingaraja temple: "Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayāti Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar."

Ananta Kesari, the second successor of Yayāti, "began the building of the great temple at Bhubaneswar." "He was succeeded by Lalāt Indra Kesari, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Liṅga Raj Bhubaneswar."

It is all possible that the great structure is a work of two generations and the construction of the temple was begun by Yayāti II towards the close of his reign and

completed by Udyota Keśari at the beginning of his reign after 1050 A.D. It seems to me that *Lalātendu* or *Lalāta Indra* was a title of Udyota Keśari and the tradition has only adopted the title and not the name. There is a cave called Lalātendu Keśari's cave in the Khandagiri hill, but the inscription in it refers of Udyota Keśari who was really the *Lalātendu* or the *Moon on the forehead* of the Somakuli Keśari kings in consequence of his having built or completed the great Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. So Chanda's suggestion of 1000 A.D. for the date of the Liṅgarāja temple accepted by Dr. A.K. Commaraswamy and Mr. Percy Brown needs correction according to the new epigraphical evidence now available and the date of the Liṅgarāja temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 11th century A.D.

Liṅgarāja Temple

The temple of Liṅgarāja is by far the most notable temple not only of Bhubaneśwar, but also of Orissa and according to scholars is also one of the best archaeological monuments of the east. Percy Brown assigns 1000 A.D. as the date of Liṅgarāja temple. But K.C. Panigrahi thinks that it was built in about A.D. 1060. The construction of the Liṅgarāja temple marks the culminating point of the architectural activities at Bhubaneśwar. It stands in the midst of a number of smaller temples within a spacious compound of measuring 520 feet in length and 465 feet in breadth. R.D. Banerji describes from his personal observation that the sanctuary is a hallow pyramid composed of several super imposed chambers, the access to which is obtained by a staircase built through the thickness of the wall. The Liṅgarāja consists of four structures which comprise the fully developed Orissan temple-type, namely the *Deul*, or *Śrāmanḍir* as it is called in this particular instance, corresponding to the *Vimāna* in other parts, the pillared Hall of *Jagamohana*, the Dancing Hall, or *Nāṭ-Mandir* and the hall of offerings, or *Bhoga Mandir*. Undoubtedly, the most impressive feature of this temple is the great tower of the *Śrī Mandir*, as it dominates not only the entire composition but the whole town of Bhubaneśwar with its height and volume. The sanctuary is a *Pāñca-ratha deul* having close architectural affinities with the Brahmeśvara temple. There are clear evidences to indicate that the Jagamohana was a later addition, but since both the sculptures are built of the same type of sandstone and have the sculptures representing the same line of artistic tradition they may belong to the same period. Both the Nāṭa-mandira and the Bhoga Mandir are open halls but the former has a flat roof while the later has *pida-deul*.

The *dīkṣālas* with their distinctive mounts and attributes appear on the temple walls not on the *jagamohana*. The images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī appear respectively on the southern, western and northern niches of the sanctuary. The life-size images of the *Pārśva-Devatās* are all in chlorite which must have been imported from a distant place and were used to ensure greater permanence and to bring out finer details of artistic designs. Among the cult images, the image of Kārttikeya occupies an important position on the chaitya arch in the east. He is shown here as riding on a peacock and

holding a *Śakti* in the left hand. An image of Maḥiśāmardini is to be found on the southern facade of the *Jaganmohana*. The only image of Lākulīsa appears on the front facade of the sanctuary. Here Lakulī is accompanied by four figures, two on each side. One of the interesting scene of Śiva's marriage of Nanda, Yaśodā and Śrīkṛṣṇa are also found on the body of the temple. Without any doubt, it can be said that the temple of Līṅgarāja is the most important Śaiva monuments not only of Orissa but also of India.

20

Lingodbhavamūrti in North Indian Art

The concept of Lingodbhavamūrti of Śiva can be traced in the *Saṃskṛtapaṭṭa* of the *Mahābhārata*, where Sanjaya related that when Aśvatthāmā the son of Droṇācārya, invoked the aid of Śiva, the latter suddenly appeared before him as a golden alter with flames of fire blazing out of it.

इति तस्य व्यवसितं ज्ञात्वा योगात् सुकर्मणाः ।
पुरस्तान् काचनी वेदी प्रादुरासीन्महत्तमः ॥
तस्यां वेद्यां तदा राजश्चित्रभानुरजायत ।
स दिशो विदिशः खंच ज्वालाभिरिव पूरयन् ॥

—*Mahābhārata, Saṃskṛtapaṭṭa, 7.13-14.*

The Purāṇic story of the Lingodbhavamūrti has been vividly described in the *Śiva, Liṅga* and a few other Śaiva Purāṇas. The story goes that at the time of disputing their individual claims for the creation of the universe, Brahmā and Viṣṇu desired to find out the top and the bottom of a blazing pillar and, hence, went in the form of a sawn and a boar upwards and downwards respectively. But neither of them could reach at the top or the bottom of the immeasurable Śiva-Liṅga. Brahmā, however, falsely uttered that he had reached the top of the Jyotirlinga and from it had brought a petal of the *Ketaki* flower as a witness of his performance. But Viṣṇu confessed in all humility his inability to discover the lower end of the gigantic pillar. Śiva appreciated Viṣṇu for his honesty, but cursed Brahmā for not to receive any worship on earth.

The mythology, though quite interesting, 'is undoubtedly sectarian in character, for it lays stress in a pronounced manner not only of the immense superiority of Śiva over the two other members of the Brahmanical triad Brahmā and Viṣṇu, but it also attempts to explain the reason why Brahmā did not and could not have a sect developing around him.'

Archaeological evidence also tells us the same story. The depiction of this theme known as Lingodbhavamūrti, has found a more plentiful iconographic expression in South India than in the North. Images of this variety earlier than the early medieval period

have not yet been found from any part of North India. The earliest example of *Līṅodbhavamūrti* is from Etah (U.P.) and is now displayed in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawana, Varanasi. This *Jyotirlinga*, carved in high relief, is shown emanating from a full blown lotus, with flames shooting upwards on its sides. Brahmā and Viṣṇu are depicted seated on lotuses in reverential attitude with their hands held near the chin in adoration to admit the superiority of Śiva-Mahādeva, the Great God, who is immanent and incomprehensible. On the lower left corner of this majestic column, Viṣṇu is shown borrowing down into the earth to trace the lower end of it. The image though badly damaged at places, is yet an excellent example of the Pratihāra art of 8th-9th century A.D.

The wellknown Vedic doctrine that Rudra (or Śiva) is the God of Fire is also revealed in another important icon of this type carved on the Mahādeva temple, Sīmhanātha in the Cuttack district of Orissa. Here, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are represented on the left and the right sides respectively of the flaming pillar ascending and descending in course of fathoming its top and the bottom. Their changed position in this particular image is worth-noticing and besides this, unlike his other images, Brahmā is shown here one-faced only. The image is a fine product of the 9th century A.D.

An exquisitely carved *Līṅodbhavamūrti* was found some years ago in the Śiva temple at Harṣa hill, near Sikar (Rajasthan) and is now preserved in the Rajputar Museum, Ajmer. The long slender column in the centre has on its sides the excellent figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu in the act of soaring upwards and coming downward respectively. The two gods are shown again flanking the pillar as the respectful attendance of Śiva. They hold their usual attributes and are also accompanied by their *Vāhanas*. Some accessory figures are depicted clustering round the upper part for the *līṅa* which is slightly damaged. This is one of the finest *Līṅodbhavamūrtis* found anywhere and can be dated to the Chauhāna period, 10th century A.D.

Besides these, a few more images of this type are also known in plastic art on North India. A magnificent temple of Lāmbā in the Jodhpur Division, built during the Pratihāra period, has an image of *Līṅodbhavamūrti* with the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu shown in usual pose on its either side.

Another fine image of this variety can be seen on the Someśvara temple at Kirāḍ in Bāḍmer district of Rajasthan. A seated figure of Śiva is executed on the *Līṅa* while the images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu as supplicants are shown on its right and left sides respectively. This fine panel can be assigned to the 11th century A.D.

Thus we have seen in brief some available examples of the *Līṅodbhavamūrtis* hailing from various parts of North India. But in South India, sculptures depicting this were fashioned in a different way. The beautiful sculptures studded on the walls of the temples in South India generally show Śiva as Candrasekhara majestically standing in *sambhāṅga* pose inside an elliptical cavity (sometimes having flames on the outer rim) on the surface of the pillar with decorations on its top. The four-armed deity holds a battle-axe and an antelope in his upper hands, his lower right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the corresponding left is resting on the hip. Brahmā is usually substituted by his *vāhana*, a swan, depicted flying on the top left corner and the boar-faced Viṣṇu is shown borrowing

down below in front of the column, which we do not find in the sculptures of North India. Some fine sculptures of the Cōla period executed in typical South Indian tradition are displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi the Government Museum, Madras, the British Museum, London and the Musée Guimet, Paris.

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Literary Sources of Śaivism

Our literary sources mainly consist of the extent Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas which present a very rich collection of material for the study of the development of Śaivism, its various cults, practices, rituals and its history from the sixth to the twelfth century AD. The structure of the Purāṇas was an attempt to provide an integrated world view of the past and present, linking events to the emergence of a deity or a sect since each Purāṇa was dedicated to such a one. We can never be sure that the details given in the various Purāṇas exhausts all that belongs to the different sects and their ritualistic practices. The Purāṇas are simply speaking religious stories in which figure deities and many semi-divine characters. The Puranic literature constitutes a vast source of the ancient Indian tradition. The Puranic literature constitutes a vast source of the ancient Indian tradition, mythology and culture and the Purāṇas are replete with the myths and legends regarding Śaiva divinities. In fact often a problem may arise due to the enormous wealth of information that has to be encountered in the Purāṇas. This is because mythographers have gone on adding, altering, selecting, embellishing and 'modernising' the myths. The Purāṇas facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. Often the original myth gets buried to such a degree that it becomes almost opaque.

Assuming that historical consciousness takes the form of historical writings, we can depend on these myths to reveal the involvement of and norms and expectations of the culture. The significance of myth lies in its being the self image of a given culture expressing its social assumptions. Myth was transmitted orally in its earliest phase. There is evidence to suggest that the Puranic texts were translated from the oral Prākṛt to the later literate Sanskrit. The Purāṇas represent then an interpretation or clarification of the Śruti revealing the eternal immutable truth in a comprehensible form to all mankind in his changing historical situation. Hence we find that the apparently senseless myths so illogically put together in our Purāṇas have a peculiar basis in reality. Though very often the historical information in such writing is not always visible yet it has to be prised from such sources which tend to conceal it.

The approach to the mythology in the Purāṇas should be eclectic necessarily so to account for the multivocality of the myths. For just as there are many meanings and themes that may be extracted in a myth so there are many themes and interpretations that

have been or might be applied to these myths. It is clear that there can be no monolithic or theory for the explanation of myths. The myths may be interpreted either in the etiological, narrative, metaphorical, cosmological or socio-psychological method. The narrative level is the story itself in all its versions. The metaphoric level is one in which the themes in the narrative level link one particular myth to other in the same or different cycles. At the cosmological level we find the more abstract notions of *karma* and power relations in the universe expressed, for example, in the tension between erotic desire and ascetic restraint. In the social and psychological dimensions of the myths we have their meanings for human life and action. The etiological meaning joins the narrative, metaphorical and socio-psychological levels.

The Purāṇas themselves do not seem particularly interested in locating their mythological materials in relation to historical events; the stories of the gods and the rituals and moral prescriptions are timeless and always valid in their application to particular situation. Our approach does not depend on determining which myths are prior to which other as they all constitute an ongoing tradition of story belonging to an evolving oral and textual tradition. The cults, practices, rites and customs discussed in the Purāṇas are not the production of a single social dictator or of a particular period of time but were revised from generation to generation and reshaped gradually to present a certain character with such additions as the society demanded. An attempt is being made to delineate the salient feature of the Śaiva cults as they are manifested in the Purāṇas by those who authored the Purāṇas. An interesting facet that we come across is the cultic tension noticeable amongst deities. In some cases the cults are not discussed but just myths and attributes of the deities are attacked. We consider this an important part of our study that is to notice and amplify the tension of rival cults and sometimes even deities of a single cult. Cult assimilation does not necessarily imply harmonious syncretism but would nevertheless imply the formation of a structure which combines heterogeneous beliefs and rituals into a whole, while making and transforming specific elements as dominant.

The Pāśupatas were possibly the earliest, and certainly the most influential of not only the Śaiva, but of most of the cults prevalent in our period. The majority of the Purāṇas refer to the Pāśupata cult.

The Pāśupatas make an ontological distinction between the individual soul (*paśu*), god (*pati*), and the fetters of this world (*pāśa*). Their basic metaphysical position is thus both dualist and monotheistic. The grace of god is believed to be essential for salvation which is conceived of as an intimate association of the soul with Śiva (*Rudrasāyujya*). Individual souls (*paśu*) wandering in the *samsāra* are tied by a noose (*pāśa*) to worldly existence by Pāśupati who through sportiveness binds the souls and hence can liberate them from the bonds of *māyā*. The path to liberation differs from Purāṇa to Purāṇa. In most of the cases we find the sages asking to be explained these different terms. In one instance Kṛṣṇa asks Upamanyu, "How is the lord known as Pāśupati? Who are the *paśu*? In another similar case sages are asking Vāyu as to how Kṛṣṇa had obtained Pāśupata-*vrata*? This is extremely relevant to extenuate the claim that in our time the Pāśupata sect and

therefore, Śiva were so persuasive that a Vaiṣṇava deity would be its disciple. Admittedly in the sectarian grouping of the Purāṇas the citations are from the so called Śaiva one but this does not deflect from its relevance. Upamanyu giving the knowledge of the Pāśupata rite to Kṛṣṇa says that Kṛṣṇa came 'of his own accord' because he despised the human form and so performed purificatory rites for the body and for obtaining sons. This is the reason why the Lord Kṛṣṇa wanted to perform penance.

In the *Brahmāpuraṇa* the rite is told because of Dakṣa's prayer and Śiva delighted after Dakṣa's obeisance gives him a boon and tells him the rite. Elsewhere it is stated, 'This excellent and exalted Pāśupata knowledge was mentioned to the goddess by lord Śiva on the Mandara mountain.' An entire chapter seems to have been inserted in the *Varāha-purāṇa* as a protest against the earlier denigration. In this chapter there is a description of the origins of the Rudra-*vratā*. It is narrated by Varāha himself. This myth of Śiva-Kapālin is the most important basis for supporting the existence of a specific Kāpālīka sect, since the myth evidently serves as the archetypal model for the religious practices of the ascetic members of the sect. Śiva gets enraged at being called Kapālin by Brahmā and chops off his head, which attached itself to Śiva's hand. Brahmā then tells Śiva to perform a *vratā* called Kāpālīka to atone for his sin. This atonement made Śiva go to the mountains, remain nude, wander all over with matted hair for years.

Subsequently Brahmā tells him: "Let you be the propounder of the righteous faith in the world, since you wandered in the world with *Kapāla* (skull) in hand...following this those who duly worship you to them you may impart briefly with the rituals the *śāstras*, the Pāśupata-*śāstra* in particular." In another instance we hear of the sages requesting Vāyu to tell them of the great Pāśupata-*vratā* on performing which Brahmā and others became Pāśupatas. Elsewhere we hear that formerly in order to burn the three cities the Pāśutva was stipulated and that now they were worried over this Pāśutva. Since then all the *devas* are known as Pāśupatas. Sometimes it is mentioned that the gods went to the Kailāsa mountain to learn the Pāśupata ritual from Śiva. They desired "Our liberation from the bondage of *paśu*. Kindly show Lord Maheśwara to us."

We hear of the Pāśupata as being "outside the three Vedas and ineligible to perform Vedic arts." This reference probably gives us a clue of their social base. They do not seem to have belonged to the hierarchical social order. There are several other instances of an attempt to denigrate the entire features of the Pāśupatas. In another place we hear of the sages telling Śiva: "In the Kali age many will have your form with crown of matted hair assuming ghostly form and wearing *liṅgas*." The Kali age was feared to be the worst of periods and the *Vaiṣṇavapurāṇa* in which this statement appears is probably alluding to the Kālāmukhas who were a prominent sect in the southern states at this time. There are several other instances of an attempt to denigrate the entire features of the Pāśupatas. In spite of these type of propoundings there are ample examples to show that the Pāśupata-*vratā* was a cult which was founded on certain ideals chosen from Vedic and non-Vedic texts.

This is clear by such statements as encountered here. Śiva says: "having established the four Vedas with their ancillaries together with Sāṅkhya and the Yoga and

performing penances inaccessible to *devas* and *dānatas* and Pāśupata rite has been evolved by me...It is evolved in secret and is unintelligible to the unintelligent. In some respects it agrees with the functions of different castes and stages of life. In some respects it is contrary to them. It is determined by the meanings of the Vedic passages. It is conducive to liberation from bondage of individual souls. It can be followed by a person in any stage of claim. "Requested by them I produced a Saṃhitā which contained rules for Vedic rites as well." Here we find a clear attempt to epitomize the features of the Pāśupata cult that would appeal to the orthodox Brāhmaṇas. If the Pāśupata cult had a heretic streak in it, it is certainly not highlighted here. In the *Brahma-Purāṇa* also there is a similar statement that "in some respect it might conform to the disciplined life of four castes and in some respects it may not but it definitely is for people in all stages of life."

The *Liṅgapurāṇa* has an almost similar injunction. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* records two forms of Pāśupatas: that, which is approved by the Vedic tradition and the other condemned so much so that the sect is classed with the non-Vedic heretic sects like Vāma (left hand type of Tantrism) and Arhat (Jains) and was believed to be created for the delusion of non-believers. The believers are prohibited from even speaking to those heretics. From the same source we find that the heretic sects were propagated by Śiva so that the heretic sect would delude the cursed people. It appears they wore a garland of skull bones, covered their bodies with ashes (from the burning ground of the dead) and wore matted hair.

What is significant is that the practices of the Veda-approved was not much different? They either shaved their head or had matted hair, they besmeared the whole of their body with ashes and were engaged in Rudrajapa. Some scholars believe that the *Purāṇa* was 'Pāśupatised' later. In a parallel case we find that an entire section of the *Vardhapurāṇa* was written with a view to popularising the Pañcarātra system which was losing favour in Northern India. It is mainly directed against the antagonistic non-Vedic Pāśupatas who were growing in number. This substantiates our premise that the popularity and breadth of the Pāśupata cult had scaled alarming proportions for the non-Śaiva cults. These followers of the Pāśupata sect are said to be fond of wine, women and flesh and were out to spread terror in the world. The Brāhmaṇas following this cult are said to be cursed by the age Gautama.

In the same text Rudra is asked about certain inherent features of the cult, such as *Mohasāstra* (the science of stupefaction) and why is it that he produces delusion? Śiva says "It is for those who are outside the Vedic fold that I introduced the *śāstra* called *Nayasiddhānta* etc. This is the rope (*pāśa*) that binds men (*paśu*) that should be snapped. Therefore, it is the Pāśupata-*śāstra* which is Vaidika." Rudra also mentions a text called *Nissrasaṃhitā* with a lakh of verses which is the only authoritative text and gives the discipline regarding Pāśupata. This follows the *path* of the Vedas and whatever is outside its scope should be considered as impure. He is also made to say that only fickle minded people frame their own *śāstras* but in that case Śiva does not remain with them. This is very pertinent as in a Vaiṣṇava text it is not as though the Pāśupata sect is completely ignored or marginalised but in fact attention is drawn to it by the poly of Rudra himself being brought in to denounce the non-Vedic Pāśupatas as well as their scriptures.

One of the major practices of the Pāśupatas was the application of *bhasma* or ashes on their body. The ashes of Śiva are by their nature capable of sustaining a number of implications. On an explicit superficial level, the ashes are ascetic, disgusting and simply anti-erotic. Ashes were used in rites of expiation. This suggested an erotic connotation. Ashes were the traditional remedy for a fever especially the fever of love and they were to be used in place of sandalwood paste upon the bodies of a couple who had performed Tantric ritual intercourse. Keeping in mind the concept of expiation the ashes smeared on Śiva's body may bear witness to his past sexual excesses rather than to his steadfast asceticism. It is also said in one place that the "ash is the virile essence of fire and a person who uses *bhasman* becomes a virile person."

This is substantiated by the commentary on an epithet of Śiva, *bhasmasayi* (lying on ashes) which cites a law-book. "Anyone who has committed a theft, seduced his teacher's wife, drunk wine or killed a Brāhmaṇa should cover all his limbs with ashes...and lying on a bed of ashes, meditating upon Rudra, he is released from all sins." It is clear from the glossed epithet that Śiva is considered to lie upon ashes. It is said in the Purāṇas that everything can be achieved through *bhasma*. It is described as being excellent and sacred and one is rid of all sins through *bhasman* which is described in one place as being Śiva's vigour and vim and Śiva says, "I retain my own vigour by means of my own body." This is a reference to Śiva's semen. *Bhasman* is said to have a protective influence against all evils. A person who self is purified by applying the ashes and is self-controlled is liberated. It is said that even if a person commits thousands of misdeeds and takes an ash bath the *bhasma* burns all the sins like fire burns a forest...and it is stated that a person should take an ash bath three times a day. In the *Śivapurāṇa* there is one whole chapter entitled, 'The Greatness of the Holy Ashes.'

It is stated that the ashes of auspicious nature are of two types. One is known as *mahābhasma* and the second as *svalpa* (the little). The *mahābhasma* is of three types, *śrauta* (Vedic), *smṛta* (resulting from *smṛti* rites), and *laukika* (prepared from ordinary fire). The *svalpa* is the ordinary ash which is of various forms. When dry cowdung is reduced to ashes it is called *agneya* (fiery). This ash can be used for the application of *tripuṇḍra*, the ash applied on the forehead. These horizontal parallel lines of ash on the forehead are popularised extensively and it is stated that the moment ashes come in contact with the body the devotee will be freed from sins of his impious acts. These sins include, theft, usurping and forcible occupying other's fields and sexual intercourse with prostitutes, women of tribal castes and women in their menstrual period. It is stated that *bhasman* is so called because it illuminates everything auspicious and renders it fragrant. It is said that evil spirits, ghosts, repugnant diseases flee at the very proximity of a *bhasmaniṣṭha*, that is a person who has a *bhasma* bath? That the person has had the *bhasma* bath is Lord Śiva himself. It has been called a great weapon of the devotees of Śiva a divine missile and hence one should endeavour in all possible ways to collect *bhasma* like wealth after the Pāśupata-vrata.

Tomes are written in the Purāṇas of the efficacy of ashes. Śiva himself says a

person who applies *bhasma* is on par with my son Gaṇeśa or like in another place we hear a similar statement that 'he attains Gaṇapatya' (the state of being a follower of Gaṇapati). We hear that once it is stated, 'what is repugnant to them should be eschewed' and in this respect this shows a compromise but the following *padas* of the same verse imposes strictness in the observance? For a householder who is devoid of Brāhman (Vedic knowledge), and who does not wear *tripundra* falls into the depths of hell and all his holy rites of worship, charitable gifts and holy abolutions will be in vain. It is not always stated whether the *bhasman* was ash of the dead bodies collected from the crematorium. This indicates that there must have been an extreme set of Pāśupata followers along with the more moderate ones. At one place it is said that, "One can take ashes from the fire of the *agnihotra* sacrifice...A learned Brāhmin who smears himself with ashes is undoubtedly liberated from all sins including those that are called *mahāpātakas* (great sins)."

It is stated in the *Padmapurāṇa* that *bhasma* purified the incantations and applied on different parts of the body is capable of destroying sins committed by different organs of the body. It destroys sins like *brahmin-hatyā*. The *Padmapurāṇa* narrates various accounts of sages, gods and Brāhmaṇas in which such miraculous deeds like infusement with life happened by the application of *bhasma* and the chanting of incantations. A rather unusual practice is the eating of *bhasma*. The Kālāmukhas eat the ashes apparently as one of the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next. The *Padmapurāṇa* lays down the procedure of preparing *bhasma* and its application on different limbs of the body. This importance of *bhasma* has been taken as the worship of Agni as a vital part of the Pāśupata *sādhana* that is accomplishment or adoration which is reflected in external practices of *agni-tapaṇa* and *bhasma-dhāraṇa*.

Both of these possess an esoteric meaning with reference to the purification of *prāṇa* or vital energy. The *Padmapurāṇa* glorifies the *bhasma* in a new way that is as the essence of three *guṇas*—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tanuś*. These are personified by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. They were apparently asked by Śiva to bear one *guṇa* each they were however unable to hold that *guṇa* for a long time so they were asked to reduce the *guṇas* to ashes.

Nakedness is another outstanding feature among the practices of the Pāśupata sect. When Śiva appeared in the Dāruvana forest to confer grace on the sages who were performing austerities 'his limbs were grey due to the application of *Bhasman*. He was naked. He had hideous features. His hairs were dishevelled and ugly. His teeth were terrific. His hands eagerly got hold of a firebrand. His eyes were reddish brown. His penis and scrotum resembled red chalk. This verse must truly describe how a Pāśupata ascetic must have looked like. The sages appealed to him 'to resort to (at least) one garment.' Eventually they recognise Śiva and ask him the reason for nakedness and Śiva says, "Deities and sages are born only naked, others, the human beings in the world, all of them are born without any garment.' Even the persons who are covered with a silken garment are (no better than) naked, should be sense-organs be unconquered. They are well hidden (covered) if they are duly subdued. It is not the garment that is the real reason about nudity and non-nudity. Forgiveness, fortitude, non-violence, absence of attachment to all (worldly

things) and equal indifference to both honour and dishonour these constitute the excellent covering garment.

After the Pāśupata-vrata if not extremely bashful he shall remain naked thereafter though alternatively he can wear ochre robes, hide or barks of trees. Only a single cloth or a single bark garment shall be worn. He shall have a staff... This description sounds like the Kāpālikas. Elsewhere it is stated that "he shall wear deerskin or bark garment." In the *Vāyupurāṇa* there is a description of people who, oppressed by drought and scanty rain, were forced to abandon cultivation. Being utterly miserable they left their lands and countries and lived in the frontier. They began to resort to rivers, oceans, wells and mountains. They maintained themselves on fruits, roots, wine and meat. They became very miserable. They wore bark garments and deer skins. They had no wives or sons. They fell from the system of castes and stages of life. They resort to a terrible promiscuous intermixture of castes. This is a description of the four *yugas*.

The situation delineated shows that this was probably the state of Indian society at the time that this was written in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. It is clearly state that "Yajñas are forsaken when *dharma* receives a set-back. There will be many types of heretics sellers of the Vedas and of sacred places. Heretics antagonistic to the discipline and arrangement of the different castes and stages of life will be born." Here we have ample evidence to show that the extreme form of Pāśupata, that is the Kāpālikas, was widely prevalent at this time and posed a definite threat to the orthodox followers of the Vedas. The reference to a famine where the men had to resort to such a life-style only seems to be a cover up, for if they were indulging in wine and meat they could not have been as miserable as it has been mentioned.

Śiva's behaviour also indicates the manner in which the Pāśupata ascetic must have conducted himself. We hear, "at some places he laughed bolsterously and terribly. At some place he showed surprise and began to sing. At some place he began to dance expressing amorous sentiment. At some places he began to sing again and again." These verses describe the Pāśupata way of behaviour or penance *vide* Pāśupata-sūtras. According to these *sūtras* the Pāśupatas are instructed to behave in such a way whereby the practitioner of the *vrata* is insulted (*avanataha*). The aim of which is to earn the active contempt of the uninitiated populace. By these practices the ascetics pass thereby their own bad *karman* to their unsuspecting revilers, while at the same time absorbing these revilers' good *karman*. It has been suggested that this behaviour was similar to the behaviour of the shamans.

However courting the censure of one's fellow humans is after all an efficient means of cutting oneself off from them, of achieving isolation and worldly detachment. Under various names this state of detachment is an essential ingredient of Jainism, Buddhism and Upaniṣadic thought. Removal of attachment is one of the five purifications of the Pāśupata doctrine. It has been refuted however on the ground that this type of behaviour has no place in the world of the shaman. His babblings, animal noises and so forth do cut him off from his fellow men, but both he and they regard this behaviour as a sign of his superior spiritual power. However much the shaman controls his trance he

believes that he is in communication with the spiritual. The Pāśupatas' mad behaviour on the other hand is completely feigned and wins only contempt from ordinary men. It is possible that the ultimate source of some of his practices may be found in Shamanism but their psychological basis has changed completely. For this reason it is preferred to consider the Pāśupata courting of dishonour mainly as an extension, albeit a highly original one, of the search for worldly detachment through ascetic penance. This is therefore *vidhi* or the rules of conduct.

Another important element of the Pāśupata system was *yoga*. The Pāśupata vow was based on *yoga* and was chronologically promulgated at first. The *varṇāśrama dharma* It is clearly stated, is a later creation by god Brahmā. The *Līṅgapurāṇa* lays great emphasis on *yoga* as against the reading of the scriptures. This is because "...the scripture creates desire for them in the minds of good men in the world merely by the hearing of it." Hence the perceptible world and the world of Vedic tradition and rituals both should be eschewed with great effort. He then becomes *virakta* (unattached person) altogether. Then it is asked by what *yoga* do the good men obtain good attributes? How do the *yogins* become endowed with *aṇimā* and not other *siddhis*? The *yoga* pertaining to Pāśupata is one that bestows salvation and he who practices the *yoga* does get the attributes like *aṇimā* (minuteness) and not otherwise even through crores of holy rites. The Pāśupata system as gleaned from the Purāṇas seems to be twofold, the Pāśupata *yoga* (philosophy), and the Pāśupata-vrata (ritualism).

These two though representing two different aspects of the Pāśupata cult signifying knowledge and action respectively are mutually interdependent and have a common goal. In one place it is stated that "the holy rite Pāśupata is (not inferior to) *yoga*; the holy rite of *kapāla* is based on *yoga*. The Pāśupata rite is laid down before. It is most excellent." This indicates that there was a competition between the two aspects for superiority in the cult. It is stated that strength, health, indifference to sensual objects, lustrous complexion...are primary signs of progress in *yoga* in the body and if the practitioner sees himself and the earth blazing and one entering the other he should know that the time of accomplishment *yoga* has approached. It is said in one place that the holy rite Pāśupata is (not inferior to) *yoga*, the holy rite of *kapāla* is based on *yoga*.

By performing the Pāśupata-vrata for twelve years, twelve months or twelve days of *paśus* are liberated from the bondage of worldly existence. In the *Śivapurāṇa* the time limit for the vrata is till death, twelve years, six years, three years...Kṛṣṇa also sees Lord Maheśvara at the end of a year by means of penance.

The *Brahmapurāṇa* mentions that a penance too difficult to be performed even by *devas* and *dānavas* should be undertaken. During the course of twelve years the holy rite has been prepared. It is subtle and no intelligent man shall censure it. The rite is beneficial to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriya, Vaiśyas and particularly ascetics, forest-dwellers and good householders. This indicates that there was no caste bar for the disciples. The time in the month is Caltra and the full moon day therein, the description of *vrata* is given in detail. Certain rituals are relevant such as the performer is to wear pure white clothes, he is to recite *mantras* and after collecting cowdung and rolling it into balls and repeating *mantras*

over them, he should place these in the fire. Once the sacrifice is over he is to gather the ashes assiduously. After this he should keep matted hair or shave off the hair completely. Even Kṛṣṇa got his head shaven and put on bark garments and besmeared his body with ashes. There is also the instruction that "he shall worship the phallic image of Śiva."

The Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas, two extreme sects related to the Pāśupata sect are mentioned several times in the *Skandapurāṇa*. Infamous for their extreme antinomian behaviour and their supposed practice of human sacrifice they caught the imagination of Sanskrit poets in the past. Very often the Kāpālikas have been depicted as an object of ridicule for their hedonism and peculiar beliefs and are often portrayed as villains dedicated to the exercise of their magic powers which they acquire through penance, *mantras* and awesome, often violent rites. The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas can be said to be totally anti-Vedic. It is said that it is doubtful whether they had any kind of philosophy except the worship of Bhairava. The *Skandapurāṇa* denounces these cults saying these people were altogether uncultured, always engaged in horrid practices of drinking, eating food in human skull, begging and possessed human skulls as ornaments. They carried the trident had matted hair and roamed in cremation grounds. The *vrata* is called the Kapāla-vrata, Mahāpāśupata-vrata, Rudra-vrata or Mahā-vrata. The Mahā-vrata is supposed to have been related by Śiva himself.

The most important of all evidence for the sects is the contemporary Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇa Miśra which is supposed to have been written at the insistence of King Gopāla of the Candella dynasty and staged in the very presence of King Kirtivarman. The latter was a staunch Vaiṣṇavite and denounces all those sects who do not worship Viṣṇu. It is an allegorical drama. Some recent writers have tried to underplay the tensions between Śaivism and Viṣṇuism by saying that a reader of *Prabodhacandrodaya* may be inclined to think that Viṣṇuism and Śaivism were two distinctly separate religious doctrines in the Candella dominion. But that this is far from the truth as in inscriptions Viṣṇuism and Śaivism are often mentioned with same the same respect and devotion. The third act of this drama introduces four heretical sectarians who are the friends and auxiliaries of Passion (*mahāmoha*), a materialist (Cārvāka), a Jain (Digambara or Kṣapanaka), a Buddhist monk (*bhikṣu*) and a Kāpālīka called Soma Siddhānta. The Kāpālīka himself talks about his necklaces and ornaments which are of human bones. He says, "I dwell among the ashes of the dead and eat my food in human skulls."

Śiva and Pārvatī have two sons, Skanda and Gaṇeśa. The myths of Skanda are earlier and appear sometimes to provide the model for some of the versions of Gaṇeśa's birth-story. However, mythologically lacking the clear aura of Vedic roots Gaṇeśa and Skanda find place initially within the world of Śiva and Pārvatī. The Purāṇas allude to myths regarding origins and exploits of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. No single version of a myth contains all the elements found in all the variants. Also there is no clear way of determining which of the many variants of their myths are prior to the others. We do find that the Puranic texts are concerned with determining their origins and establishing them within the framework of Śiva's and sometimes Pārvatī cycle of myths, giving them more authority under their parents' umbrella. We will determine how far the references found can justify the prevalence of a Skanda and Gaṇeśa cult in our period.

A cult worshipping the image of Skanda was in vogue at the time of Pātañjali (second century BC). We also find that the names of Skanda were adopted by the rulers of the Gupta dynasty. However in our period there seems to be lesser evidence of wide prevalence of such a cult. They may be explained by the surmise that the more powerful deity Śiva had fused Skanda within its pantheon. The *Śivapurāṇa* contains an entire section called the Kumārakhaṇḍa which describes in detail the birth of Kārttikeya. In an attempt to give it sancity it is believed to be the essence of the Vedas and is pleasant to the ears. Here it is explained that "Śiva retained the semen while making love to Pārvatī as he was interrupted by the gods as he was an expert in yoga, free from lust." "Subsequently the semen missing Pārvatī takes a circuitous route, via a series of carries who vary from Purāṇa to Purāṇa. They include Agni, Gaṅgā, Vāyu and sometimes Pārvatī. Kārttikeya is called the son of Hara born of the womb of Uma, born of the womb of Agni, born of the womb of Gaṅgā.

In one instance Skanda is called the son of Rudra, Agni and Gaṅgā. Here there is no mention of Pārvatī. In most accounts an enraged Pārvatī curses the gods but in the instance she returns to her room, persistently pleading with Śiva. The ultimately bore a son named Gaṇeśa. By this account it would seem that both Skanda and Gaṇeśa were born almost simultaneously in different places. Eventually Kārttikeya is brought up by the Kṛttikas." The semen of Śiva seen by the gods fell on the ground, the earth dropped into the fire, the fire on the mountain, the mountain on Gaṅgā and Gaṅgā by her currents transmitted it to the grove of *sāra* plants and was picked up by the Kṛttikas. An attempt is made here to read this myth as one of rehabilitation at the level of myth when a tribal god is assimilated into the Brahmanic fold. This would parallel a socio-historical situation in which tribal or lower caste groups were assimilated into the caste hierarchy as part of the Brahmanic synthesis. The Kṛttikas are Seven Mothers, Goddesses but unmarried. No father seemed necessary to the society in which they originated.

Therefore, it seems that the child god Skanda was obviously devised to bring the mothers and their cults under male control. There is an ancient tradition of mother-in-common that could not be reconciled with Vedic father right. So this myth of Kārttikeya's birth may have been devised to accommodate the primitive concept that may have existed in some kinds of pre-patriarchal society of several mothers who equally bear a child-in-common (without any particular father and the inexplicable notion is present even in the *R̥gveda*). It would appear that the mothers were easier to control through their child Skanda, who was invented for that special purpose, than by the imposition of violently hostile patriarchal cults. Still the separation must not have been easy. We hear of the Kṛttikas imploring Skanda not to leave them, falling into a swoon due to the imminent separation.

In the *Padmapurāṇa* there is a variation in the legend birth of the Kārttikeya. The semen is deposited in a lake and the moment the water is drunk by Pārvatī, an excellent, wonderful body removing diseases and griefs, rising from the right side of the goddess, after having torn it, came out. Several epithets are enumerated in the same text such as

Ṣaḍvadana, Ṣaṇmukha, Viśākha, Gūha, and Kārttikeya. There is the mention of his vehicle the peacock as well as the reference of him being fierce in battle. His army was supposed to consist of goblins and evil spirits in addition to *devas*. This supports the tradition which explains his names Mahāseṇa and Kumāra. There is a description in the *Śivapurāṇa* of the birth of Skanda. "...after a long time the splendour (semen) grew into a boy of beautiful and tender limbs, a model for all boys..." He asked the goddess to feed him on her breast milk. She blessed him saying your incarnation is for the welfare of the world. Indra coronates the infant as the commander-in-chief of the gods.

Where Gaṇapati is concerned we find he makes his ritual appearance in the brahmanic pantheon relatively late, possibly in *circa* fifth century AD. As is the case with the birth-stories of his brother Skanda, there are many and with variations. The Purāṇas are aware that there are variant and incompatible accounts and they account for this inconsistency by placing different variants in different cycles of cosmic time.

Gaṇeśa makes a more abrupt and dramatic appearance. Gaṇeśa's theriomorphic form suggests that he is too 'primitive' emerging also from lower classes or aboriginal communities into reluctant Brahmanical recognition.

A similar process of rehabilitation seems to have worked with Gaṇeśa. It has been said that by reading Gaṇeśa's mythology one gets the impression that we are encountering an elaborate rationalisation for an 'invented' deity. We know that the Purāṇas were specifically written to justify and even to glorify so many primitive autochthonous cults. They provided a regular mechanism for assimilation and acculturation. Providing an excellent means for diffusing the remodelled cults and the Brahmanical code and by recasting these the priests could combine religious and moral instruction with popular entertainment. This was clearly done in the case Gaṇeśa. May be he was one of the nameless village gods who had risen from gruesome origins to identification with some respectable deity, in this case with Śiva. In fact many Indologists conclude that he is derivative of Śiva. In one instance Gaṇapati has been referred to as Pāśupata and it is said that he who recites these names of Gaṇapati "would never meet with any difficulty, nor would he be troubled by diseases." This reference is very similar to the ones we come across in association with Śiva. In another verse there are even more striking attributes: "he who has put on the skin of the black antelope and has the sacred thread of serpents, who has on his head the digit of the young moon." This could easily be a description of Śiva instead of Gaṇeśa except that there is also the description of "having one tusk, whose body is big, who has a large belly."

It is pertinent to look into the *raison d'être* of Gaṇeśa's birth as related in the various Purāṇas. At times we find that Gaṇeśa is born for the destruction of *daityas* and for rendering help unto the *devas* and Brāhmaṇas. This is comparable to the reason as to why Skanda took birth to destroy the demon Tārakā who was clearly invincible? What is more often related in connection with Gaṇeśa is his being born to guard Pārvatī's inner chambers. It is said that Pārvatī feels the need to have her own among people who may be alien to her.

Pārvatī is also very shy as Śiva enters in the midst of her bath and it is then that

she thinks "there must be a servant of my own who will be expert in his duties. He must not stray from my behest even a speak." Once he creates him, that is Gaṇeśa, she tells him, "there is none else who belongs to me; you are my own." Pārvati is said to have created him out of the dirt of her body and that even on the fourth day. This has to be understood in the context of the concept of the earth goddess and the rituals of the earth mother. This would harken back to an earlier period when mother goddesses prevailed and were believed to create without the assistance of a male deity. Brahmā says, "Vermillion is visible on your face now hence you will be worshipped with vermilion by men always." Vermillion stands for menstrual blood. In primitive thought menstruation was regarded as the process of the same nature as child-birth.

In the Purāṇas we find that on the fourth day of menstruation when the blood would cease to come out the woman concerned must take a bath and unity with her husband to make her menstruation fruitful. The fourth day is so important that it is said that the man wanders away at this time without cohabiting with the wife due to anger or delusion incurs the sin of killing the embryo. Soon after the period cohabitation is laid down for the sake of the manes. He who cohabits at this time (alone) is considered celibate enough and the rule that a woman should be cohabited with after her monthly course and if such is not done the man doubtless make his manes drink semen. The red colour is associated with Gaṇeśa as is clear from the *śindūra*, the red garments and red flowers to be used in the worship of Gaṇeśa and the dirt of his mother are nothing but mythical superimpositions or *arthavāda* in the mythopoetic style to indicate his birth from the mother earth in the traditional 'period' that is just after the menstrual period is over.

Hence we find that the birth of Gaṇeśa is usually attributed to Pārvati quite independent of Śiva's intervention but in one instance we find the origin is contrary to the rule. It seems the *devas* went to Śiva desiring a boon and told him that since he was prayed to by those who were harmful and injurious to *devas* for the achievement of their desires hence Śiva should bless them with a good cause of impediment to those who bring about injury to *devas*. On hearing this request Śiva created the body of the leading *deva* Gaṇeśvara. This was done by entering the womb of Umā to be born as Gaṇeśvara *vide* the Vedic concept that the wife becomes the mother unto her husband when the latter is born of her in the form of a son. Here it is clearly stated that the boy emanated from both of them. There is no reference of Gaṇeśa being born of Pārvati's scurf. Gaṇānana is told to be stationed in the heavenly path and to create impediments in the rituals of that person by whom the sacrifice had been performed without the monetary gifts on the surface of the earth. There is a shift from guarding his mother's quarters to punishing those who do not want to spend money on rituals and Brāhmaṇas. We can detect a clear appropriation of a tribal deity and his functions for a more developed society with its own kind of problems. Gaṇeśa is to remove the vital breaths of the person who improperly performs the rites of teaching and the study of Vedas, the commentaries therein and the rites mentioned in them. There are indications that the custom that Gaṇeśa should be worshipped before any undertaking or before any other *deva*, is laid out. It is also stated that he was to be worshipped by all four castes alike.

The myth of Gaṇeśa's birth includes Pārvatī's creation of Gaṇeśa in Śiva's absence. When Śiva returns from his outing, Gaṇeśa guarding Pārvatī's chambers does not allow Śiva to enter even after Śiva discloses his identity. A massive battle takes place between Gaṇeśa and Śiva's attendants, which eventually leads to the beheading of Gaṇeśa. A distraught Pārvatī insists that her son be restored to life and that is how Gaṇeśa's original head was replaced by that of an elephant's. Some historians have seen the story of Gaṇeśa's confrontation with Śiva and his subsequent restoration and adoption as the lord of the *ganas* as a commentary on the process by which Gaṇeśa was elevated from obscurity into Brahmanic recognition. Others have suggested that Gaṇeśa's origins are to be found among the aboriginal tribes whose totemic emblem was an elephant. The Brahmanic tradition eventually assimilated the worship of this outsider, as they had done with Śiva and because he was a threatening figure he was rehabilitated by his beheading and adoption into Śiva's inner circle. In this way he became acceptable to Brahmanic sensibilities.

The association of elephants with Gaṇeśa may reflect not a tribal totem but the ceremonial and military use of elephants by imperial dynasties of this and later periods of Indian history. It is not so implausible, however, that symbols of the elephant, obstacles, the need for progeny to domesticate a wild ascetic Śiva and his childless wife Pārvatī into a viable household, and the obligation to protect sacred temple enclosures from pollution and hostile forces may have been coalesced into the figure of Gaṇeśa. What is common to all myths of Gaṇeśa's origins is that he is never born from the sexual union of his mother and father in their divine forms as Śiva and Pārvatī? One or the other creates him unilaterally.

The two sons come into conflict with one another which not only provides us with interesting mythology but if we read them as history we come across facets of the religious preferences and the sectarian conflict of the time. The tales evoke the theme of sibling rivalry. Gaṇeśa and Skanda are in fact always in opposition in the myths in which they appear together. The competition takes different forms in different myths. In one such myth the two brothers compete over the prize of wives. The brothers are told by their parents that "the auspicious marriage will be celebrated of that boy who comes here first after going round the entire world." When he heard this Skanda started off immediately to go around the world but Gaṇeśa performed abolutions, got two seats and making his parents sit down he worshipped them, circumambulated them and demanded to be married.

It is clearly said that he who worships his parents and circumambulates them derives the fruits and merit of circumambulating the earth. He who leaves his parents at home and goes on a pilgrimage incurs the sin of their murder. The holy centre of a son consists of the lotus-like feet of his parents. It is because of this myth that Skanda is identified as a *brahmacārin*. It can also be seen as the conflict of two ritual strategies that is action versus devotion. This fact remains constant in all the variants of the myths. *Bhakti* is the preferred path to salvation. The myth portrays Skanda as well meaning but

dim-witted and it is said, "when misfortune comes if a person is keenly intelligent, his misfortune perishes even as darkness perishes when the sun rises. He who has intelligence possesses strength as well. How can he who is devoid of intelligence have strength?" Gaṇeśa is not only the perfect devotee but he is also the clever ritualist theologian who knows how to turn the rules and doctrines to his own advantage.

This episode exemplifies the cultic tension between the two deities. It is these type of episodes in the various Purāṇas that expatiate our claim for perpetual cultic tension between the two deities. Written in a way that devotees would be able to easily identify, on the surface it appears like just sibling rivalry between the two but in actuality there is even a note of tension on the right method of worship. On the one hand is the complex of winning the prize by conquest, reminiscent of the ancient kings, who prior to the sacrifice of the horse, would 'go around the world conquering on every side.' The theme of conquering the world, marking of its outer boundaries coalesces into the *bhakti* tradition of pilgrimage. This involves going a great distance and grasping the prize of the auspicious sight (*darśana*) of the deity. It is the heroic quest for the 'centre'—the locus of secret and precious power at the far and dangerous periphery of the familiar world, followed by the return home with the prize in one's hand or marked on one's soul. Skanda being a hero, such a venture is appropriate to his nature. The other ritual is to keep the circumambulation closer to home. Śiva and Pārvatī are the 'centres' of the universe. This leap of theological imagination saves many steps and much time. Gaṇeśa tricks his brother out of the prize and forces Śiva to reward him for his cleverness, a cleverness that is inseparable from his devotion.

It is interesting that hereafter though Skanda retains his militaristic imagery, it is given non-militaristic interpretation nor does he ever seem to be the patron war-god for chieftains of kings. Part of the reason for this may be Gaṇeśa's arrival on the scene and his edging out Skanda's supremacy as heir in Śiva's family.

It was probably during our period between the sixth and twelfth centuries that Gaṇeśa's following must have been expanding for we hear of details regarding the *vrata* to be performed to propitiate Gaṇeśa. Pārvatī says, "O Gaṇeśa, you were born in the first *prahara* on the fourth day in the dark half of the Bhādra month at the auspicious hour of the moon rise. Since your form manifested itself from the good mind of Pārvatī, your excellent *vrata* shall be performed on that *līṭhi* itself or beginning from that day. It will be very auspicious and conducive to the achievement of all *siddhis*."

The worship of the *līṅga* is the essence of Śaiva theology. The word *līṅga* is used in many senses. The most important and fundamental meaning of the word is a mark, symbol, symptom or sign. Regarding the meanings in which the *līṅga* is used in connection with Śiva, we find it is used in the sense of a visible symbol and the absolute form of Śiva which is beyond all visible forms is therefore called *alīṅga*, that is one which has no visible symbol. We will see how far the practices regarding the *līṅga*-worship were prevalent in our time.

A full-fledged philosophy developed around the concept of the *līṅga* in the *Śivapurāṇa*, which is not found in the other Śaivic Purāṇas. According to the *Śivapurāṇa*

the *liṅga* represents a state of completion—a whole which constitutes two aspects, male and female or the supreme and his power. This is the *nāda* and *bindu*, the twin causality for Śakti, who are also called *Bhāga* and *Bharga*. Therefore, for creation, the mutual causality of the dual principle is absolutely essential. In one place we find the sages ask that everywhere the deities are worshipped only in their image form, so how is it that Śiva is worshipped both in the image and the phallus. Sūta replies but claims the speaker is Śiva himself and not any ordinary person. Śiva alone is glorified as *niṣkala* (nameless and formless) since he is identical with the Supreme Brāhman. But then he is also *sakala* as he has an embodied form. Thus he is both *sakala* and *niṣkala*.

It is in his *niṣkala* aspect that the *liṅga* is appropriate. So we are told that in the *sakala* aspect the worship of his embodied form ■ appropriate and since he has the *sakala* and *niṣkala* aspects he is worshipped both in the phallic and the embodied form by the people. This fact is repeatedly emphasised as an additional merit. "Both the phallic and the embodied form are seen only in the worship of Śiva. This bodyless aspect in virtue of his being the Supreme Brāhman, the *niṣkala liṅga* in conformity with the Vedic implication, is used only in his worship. It is stated that it is a decision in the Vedas that the embodied form alone is to be used in the worship of other deities who are only individual souls embodied. Devas have only the embodied aspect in their manifestation."

The *Liṅgapurāṇa* also explains the nature of the Śivaliṅga in various contexts. It is said that the Supreme Śiva is formless and the mystical *liṅga* is his symbol. to the query of the sages regarding the *liṅga* and its origins, Brahmā explained to them that the Supreme Śiva is *liṅgi*, whereas the *liṅga* is called *Pradhāna*. The latter is nothing else but the *Prakṛti*—the root evolvent. This places the Supreme Śiva who is formless (*aliṅgi*) on par with the *Sāṅkhya Puruṣa*. The *liṅga* constitutes the *trimūrti* and the *nāda* according to the *Liṅgapurāṇa*.

We find that the Puranic writers created several episodes in order to popularise the phallic cult. In fact it has been said of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* that the chapters on *liṅga*-worship show two distinct modes of procedure—one using the Vedic *mantras* and the other in which the Tantric elements prevail. Hazra has suggested that while the former groups has been retained from the earlier form of the Purāṇa, showing influences of Tantric practices, and belonging and belonging to a period not earlier to the eighth century AD.

We will notice, however, that the philosophy that developed around the concept of the *liṅga* seems to have evolved out of two basic principles, the cult of the pillar and cult of phallic worship.

It is clear that the cult of the pillar had emerged as a significant principle in the Vedic horizon apropos the Skambhasukta of the *Atharvadeva*. For these who did not want to accept the antiquity and the Vedism of the phallic symbolism of the Śivaliṅga this proved to be a saving grace. It has also been suggested that the worship of the tree was later replaced by a stone pillar which took the final shape as the *liṅga*. It can, therefore, be said that the *liṅgāvirbhāva*, *liṅgodbhava* or the emergence of the *liṅga*, found in various

Purāṇas as a symbol of Śiva, augments the onset of a new concept, that is the synthesis of the old cults of the pillar and phallic worship there can be no denial of an endeavour through clever mythology to construct a basis for the superiority of the Liṅga cult.

The *liṅga* is described as 'a huge column of fire' in the *Śivapurāṇa*. In the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* also we find that the *liṅga* is not a phallus but a column of fire. Similarly in the *Kūrmapurāṇa* the *liṅga* is the manifestation of a column of fire. These references point of fire worship. The identity of Rudra and Agni is stated as early as in the *Ṛgveda* (*Taittirīyaśukhita*) as well as in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. The similarity in *liṅga*-worship and fire-worship is significant. Usually while describing the *liṅga* we hear of "clusters of flames spreading everywhere. It was frightful to all beings. It was extremely terrible in its features. It appeared to pierce heaven and earth." In the *Liṅgapurāṇa* also the *liṅga* is described as having thousands of clusters of flames incomparable to hundreds of all consuming fires.

The varying episodes relating to the *liṅgāvirbhāva* or the emergence of the *liṅga* are representative and a manifestation of the sectarian conflict between the *liṅga* are representative and a manifestation of the sectarian conflict between the *liṅga* as a cultic symbol and Viṣṇuism or any other cult. This is because it points to the ultimate superiority of the Liṅga cult and is an excellent example of the cloaking or disguising of cultic tension through the medium of mythology and legends in the Purāṇas.

The most common myth found associated with the *liṅgāvirbhāva* is this that god Śiva came to bless the sages of the Dāruvana and demonstrated to them the Pāśupata way of reducing sins by inviting public censure. The sages were aghast as Śiva's behaviour was against *dharma* as they understood it. They requested him to drop his phallus, clothe himself and speak gently. Śiva of his own accord dropped it and disappeared. In this instance there is no mention of a huge *liṅga*. As a *liṅga* falls there is chaos everywhere. "There was no appearance of any living being in the range of three worlds. Everything was agitated and nothing shone. The sun did not shine, the fire became devoid of lustre. The stars and the planets became contrary to their normal state. The *krāntas* (sacrifice ?) of the sages who had plenty of resources and who were engaged in activities conducive to the birth of children and who used to approach their wives only at the permitted period after the days of menstruation, did not function properly." After the sages are told of Śiva in this form by Brahmā, do they pay obeisance to him and we are told that they made a replica of the *liṅga* and when the *liṅga* was installed once again with a desire for the welfare of all the worlds, those excellent sages devoted to the duties of different castes carried them out.

Some historians such as R.G. Bhandarkar, J.N. Banerjee, B.C. Law and J.N. Farguhar believe that *liṅga*-worship originated from the aborigines of India. Though R.G. Bhandarkar clarifies that the association of *liṅgatattva* with the worship of Śiva-Rudra was alien to the Rudras.

Usually the *liṅga* appears because of the squabbling that takes place between Viṣṇu and Brahmā stating that each is better than the other and claiming to be the lord they go ready to fight, like two foolish goats desirous of killing each other. It is then the huge

column of fire appears before them. "It is beyond the range of human senses. We have to find out its top and bottom." Neither of them is able to do so, though Brahmā employs falsehood and claims that he manages to reach the top. Due to this a *raison d'être* is provided for Brahmā not having any separate temple nor festival. In the *Līngapurāṇa* the *līṅga* is described as being "stable with no decline or decrease. It had neither a beginning nor an end nor a middle. It was incomparable, inexplicable and indistinct. It was the source of the universe."

Strictly speaking these references are not directly advocating phallic worship. Nor must have the *līṅga* replica that is prepared by the sages have included the *yoni*, but the hint of phallus worship is clear. Phallic worship highlights the principle of fertility. That phallic worship was alien to the Sanskrit speaking people amongst the *Rgveda* people is evident from a couple of verses in the *Rgveda* denouncing phallus worshippers. The fact remains undeniable that phallism must have been popular with certain tribes during the early Vedic period. However by the time of *Purāṇas* we find a synthesis of the phallic cult and the cult of the pillar. This was probably because the pillar (*kaṇṭha*) stands for the ultimate causality of fertility and generation which also covers the principle of ultimate causality. The cult of the pillar seems to be primarily based on the concept of the axis of the universe. It is an indestructible and eternal column. This in turn seems to have led to the principle of Divine Support responsible for the sustenance of the universe. This principle seems to have been symbolised by a vertical pillar which is the *ādhāra* or substratum supporting the *adhyeya* or the universe.

In one instance the origin of the *līṅga* is not due to the curse by the sages but is frequently the result of measures taken to cure Śiva of his destructive fever. The sages curse Śiva's *līṅga* to fall to the earth. It burnt everything before it like a fire...All creatures were troubled and the sages went to desperation to Brahmā who said to them, "as long as the *līṅga* is not still there will be nothing auspicious in the universe. You must propitiate *Devī* so that she will take the form of the *yoni* and then the *līṅga* will become still." They honoured Śiva and he appeared and said, "If my *līṅga* is held in a *yoni* then all will be well. Only Pārvatī can hold the *līṅga* and then it will become calm." They propitiated him and thus *līṅga*-worship was established.

Whether we look at the *līṅga* cult as a continuation of the cult of the pillar or see it as the continuation of the cult of the phallus, it is undeniable that the cult around the Śiva-*līṅga* was of increasing importance and contributed to the popularity of Śaivism in our period.

The *yoginīs* seem to have been powerful deities but there is scant reference to them in the *Purāṇas*. When they are described it is usually as forming a circle, being a group, being very fierce with their shouts resembling the sound of *bherī* drums. Bhairava or Caṇḍī is described as the great leader accompanied by the circle of *yoginīs* who tore through all the *devas* and drank their wonderful blood. *Yoginīs* are mentioned alongwith *kṣetrapālas*, *bhūtas*, *pramāthas*, *guhnyakas*, *śākinīs*, and *dākinīs*, all of whom roared, drank blood and devoured a lot of flesh. The number sixty-four is also associated with them.

There is a description of what may be *yoginis* as those mothers who gave attendants to Skanda before he set out on battle against Tāraka. The names are unusual such as Catulā, Bahūsira, Dahadaha, Rudrakālī, and Pūtana. We read that, "They dwelt on trees and quadruples, they had their abodes in the places where four roads met, they lived in caves and cremation grounds and they had mountains, cascades, and cataracts as their regular dwelling places. They had different kinds of dress and ornaments. They assumed different kinds of forms. They spoke different languages and they wielded different weapons."

Usually Śiva and Pārvati are depicted as a couple who seem to have an egalitarian relationship. They are seen diverting themselves in varied ways such as playing and sporting, engaged in aquatic sports, playing on the swing, gathering flowers, playing on the lute, painting, drawing pictures, adorning each other, even talking about topics of learning such as the Āgamas and discussing the incidents and events of the world. They also indulged in activities which led to the eruption of tension between them such as when they played dice? Initially Pārvati smarts at the censure and taunts of the sages like the Nārada, because they constantly reminded her of the invincibility of Śiva to her and everyone in this universe. Once she wins the game they accuse her of cheating and lies, whereby she in turn accuses them of partiality. Having won the game Pārvati seizes the moon that was on the head of Śiva, annulates it and wears it as an earring. One by one she removes all his ornaments as well as his loin cloth. At which point Śiva becomes angry and Pārvati replies, "What have you to do with a loin cloth? You are a sanctified soul. Some time back you wandered through Dāruvana with the cardinal points alone for your garment (i.e., you are naked)."

The cultic tension noticeable through the medium of dialogue and the metaphors occurring therein provide ample opportunities to delve in the intricacies of relationships. It is an interesting facet that we encounter in the literary tradition of our period. If there was separate cult around Pārvati it certainly is not discernible in the Purāṇas. That the cult of the mother goddess was prevalent in its different manifestations is obvious. This is with reference to the *Devī Māhātmya*. However, this is not sufficient evidence to extend Pārvati's claim as an independent cultic deity. Earlier she must have had an impressive following. The epithets identify her with mountainous regions, Mandaravāsini, Girijā, Haimavati, Śailasutā, Śailaputri, Vindhyaavāsini—all indicating her association with the hills. It is quite possible that Pārvati's early history and origin may lie with a goddess who dwelt in the mountains and was associated with non-Sanskritic tribal peoples. If Pārvati was associated with such a tradition, almost every trace of that identity is gone by the time we find her mentioned in the Brahmanic literary tradition.

Now Pārvati's mythology is almost entirely dominated by her association with Śiva. Her nature develops and is characterised therefore by this relationship. Most renditions of Pārvati's mythology explain the goddess' birth as necessary for being Śiva's consort for producing a child of Śiva. The demon Tārakā has been granted a boon of being invincible to any creature except a child of Śiva. As Śiva is an ascetic the gods have to find a woman or goddess capable of luring Śiva into a sexual encounter or marriage. Pārvati and Śiva represent the perennial tension between the ascetic ideal and the householders

ideal. Śiva is the god of excesses, both ascetic and sexual. Pārvati plays the role of modifier. As a representation of the householder ideal she represents the ideal of controlled sex, namely married sex which is opposed both to asceticism and eroticism.

This theme of conflict, tension, opposition, somewhere yields to a vision of reconciliation, interdependence and symbolic harmony which can be seen in different images, the *liṅga*, *yoni*, Ardhanārīśvara and Śiva-Śakti. Pārvati for the most part represents the households. Her mission is to tempt Śiva from asceticism, Yoga and other worldly preoccupation. In this role Pārvati is cast as a figure who upholds the order of *dharma*, who enhances life in the world, who represents the beauty and attraction of worldly sexual life. It may also be surmised that this was the period of active assimilation of the Pārvati cult into the cult of Śiva and this may also be a cause for the tension between Śiva and Pārvati. Whatever the case may have been, the difficulties faced are demonstrated in the dialogue between Śiva and Pārvati in the *Padmapurāṇa*.

In one such exchange Śiva is seen gloating over his 'white body' and says that 'jointed with him Pārvati's body would shine like a black female serpent clung to a white sandal tree or like night covered with reddish garment touched by moonlight.' At this Umā is enraged, and instead of taking the statement subserviently she retorts that 'neither is she crooked (like a serpent) or rough but, instead Śiva was known in the world to be possessing poison and as being a shelter to the mines of faults (that is those who commit faults).' Śiva is told by Pārvati that he is the one who snatched away the teeth of Pūṣan and destroyed Bhāga's eyes. He could not afford to call her black as he himself was known to be Mahākāla. We find her feeling very upset because she is being humiliated by "a rogue, a mean skull carrier, always living in a crematory with body smeared with ashes and moving among the divine mothers." There is no vestige of a pacifying Pārvati rushing toward penance to achieve a fairer skin to please her lord. We encounter a goddess showing definite signs of being a powerful, independent, opinionated person, who seems wary of Śiva's attributes, characteristics and behaviour.

In one instance she says is rushing to the mountain in order to abandon herself by means of penance as she had been insulted by a rogue, rather than to become fair skinned. In another place she accuses Śiva of creating a headache in her by reviling her with his own defects. Śiva also retaliates that she was behaving like her father and that her mind was overpowered with turbidness like the mass of clouds on the peak of the Himalayan mountains. He also says that Pārvati's heart was unfathomable like the mountain, hardness from stones, thickness from thickets, crookedness from rivers and was difficult to be employed like the snow. Śiva says "all these traits have been transferred to you from the Himalayan mountain." Umā replies, "from serpents you have received many tongues, from the ashes you have got oiliness, the wickedness of your heart has sprung up from the moon." He is also said to have no sense of shame because he is naked.

In another situation we find an ego tussle but over a different matter. Pārvati seems to be experiencing loneliness. This appears to be the result of her recent assimilation into the Śaiva pantheon. Pārvati's friend also tells her "all the *ganas* of Rudra carry

out the orders of Śiva and that none of them can be called our own. They all stand as portals, subservient of Śiva's behests...Our mind is not in union with them. Hence our own must be created." The creation of Gaṇeśa is a totally independent act without the intervention of Śiva. Śiva is also worried over his reputation of being scared of his wife and therefore initially hesitates before going to war with Gaṇeśa. "But if we are to be humble there is likely to be a rumour: Śiva is subservient to his wife...this is derogatory to me. How can a woman be obdurate especially with her husband? Pārvatī will certainly derive the fruit of what she has done?"

In another occurrence Śiva tries to apologize and placate Pārvatī even stating, "I shall be ■ sycophant—a flatterer saying amusing words." Pārvatī still does not give up her intense anger.

In another instance we find Pārvatī cursing, "O fire since you have caused an impediment in sexual intercourse even before I had been satisfied, therefore you have committed an action which you should not have committed; you evil-minded one!" If Pārvatī is Śiva's consort, her statements certainly do not imply that she was a mere appendage to Śiva, far inferior in power and status but seems to have a mind of her own in all matters ranging from the children to sex and even in removing Gaṅgā from such close proximity of Śiva her spouse. It may be therefore hypothesised on the basis of Pārvatī relation with Śiva which seems to have been a spirited one that there may have been a cult dedicated to Pārvatī that was now being subsumed into the Śaiva pantheon.

Similarly there seems to have been cultic tension between Gaṇeśa and Skanda which has been referred to earlier in this chapter. This tension, as has been pointed out, indicative of a strain between the two rival cults. There also seems to have been problems of acceptance with the extreme sects like the Kāpālikas and with their practices which we find are denigrated and said to be anti-Vedic.

We find that the Sanskrit tradition in the Purāṇas possesses enormous symbiotic appeal representing ■ norm of socio-cultural excellence and possessing virtually a proselytising quality. We have also found that the Sanskrit tradition is not a monolithic entity but is involved in symbolic interplay with myriad local traditions so that Sanskritisation is a very complex two directional process drawing from as well as feeding into non-Sanskritic culture.

22

Māṇikkavācakar

The immense output of mystical writings from the Śaivite Nāyanmāras and Vaiṣṇavite Ālvārs in the Tamil country, which contributed to the revival of Hinduism against the currents of Buddhism and Jainism, reached its climax in the *Tiruvācakan* of Māṇikkavācakar, the last of the Tamil Śaivite poet-mystics. This saint is said to have been born at the town of Tiruvātavūr, on the river Vaikai, in the ninth century. Gifted with a powerful intellect and with a genius for administration, he became the prime minister of the Pāṇḍiya king, Ariamarttanār. Power and riches at the royal court did not corrupt him; convinced of their transitoriness, he set his mind on the sacred truths of the Śaiva religion and longed for release from imprisonment in the world of rebirth. While on a visit to Perunturai he came under the influence of a Brāhmin religious teacher. Eventually he renounced his prime ministership and took to the life of a religious poet, singing Śiva's praises, practising austerities at Citamparam, performing miracles, such as restoring the gift of speech to the dumb daughter of the Cōla king, and engaging in discussions with the Buddhists of Ceylon.

His best-known work, the *Tiruvācakan*, is daily sung with devotion and rapture in temples and homes throughout the Tamil land. A common Tamil saying is that 'He who is not melted by the *Tiruvācakan* must have a stone for a heart.' It is a remarkable mystical work, profoundly religious, in exquisitely beautiful verses, divinely inspired and undoubtedly ranking as one of the great religious classics of the world; its stanzas express the ecstatic and profound love Māṇikkavācakar always had in his heart, once he had forsaken earthly love and come to taste the love of God.

God's Love for Man

Two complementary articles of Śaivite faith concerning the nature of God form the basis of Māṇikkavācakar's whole teaching on God's love for man. The first is that God is sovereign and indwells all creatures out of love for men, the second that his love is perfect and unfailing.

How does he conceive of the absolute sovereignty of God? The point stressed time and again in the *Tiruvācakan* is that God is the Lord of 'creation', ruler of the universe, indweller of all beings. Actually, God is the sovereign Lord and Ruler of the universe insofar as he is present in the inmost essence of all beings and hence his indwelling resumes all divine activity with respect to all beings.

God Śiva creates, protects, and destroys all worlds; he enriches them with his grace and releases them from fetters; he brings about in a special way the entry of souls into the company of the faithful. He fills (*nirṇantu*) the heaven and the earth and whole 'creation' is bright with his manifested light (*vilāṅk-oli*) (1.23). He is the truth which, as *mikḍram*, dwells in the soul (1.33); he abides especially in the thought (*cintai*) of men (1.17). He is the unseen light that lurks within souls who did not see him; liquifying their hearts with love, he indwells as the precious life (*aāruvir*) of souls (1.68-9). His glory and greatness consist in residing with over-flowing love within his devotees's inmost souls. Mingling with all beings, he cherishes every one of them. The self-sufficient Being seeks the souls out and enters into their inmost beings (5.47).

The divine immanence in the world and in souls is described by Māṇikkavācakar thus: 'He (God) is the Lord who has taken possession of me; the ; mother of the universe who penetrates the seven worlds; and the Lord who rules over them all' (8.7). He is said to be 'the essence of all that lives', in the sense that every living being is the embodiment of God's goodness and finds its ultimate destiny in him. He reigns over all souls and is intimately present to them. 'He entered my flesh, united with my self, never leaves my souls.' [God] does not quit my heart even for an instant: he is the king who soothed my soul's unrest, and made me his . . . [He] is far removed from those who are without [love] . . . [he] is pleased with those who worship him with adoring hands . . . [he is] the glorious One who uplifts those who bow their head [to him] . . . Praise be to the feet of the stainless, who stands near in love. (1. 2-13)

That this divine immanence is not understood in the pantheistic sense is made clear by the following, philosophically important, statement: 'He (God) is the life of all that lives and yet not confused with any of them.' The profound meaning of divine immanence is further focussed when Māṇikkavākar tries to explain it in the sense of utter dependence of the creature on God.

If you leave, I perish.

None but you upholds your devotee;

Source of my life.

Indwelling in me.

Vīṭilō ketuvēn

Marrāṭiyēn-rannait tāṇikunar illai;

En vāl mutalē,

Enakkullāvanē

(6.23)

We may go further. Not only is God's loving presence and activity the very condition of the continued existence of the world and men, but his direct action upon the minds and hearts of his devotees leads them to final liberation. The devotee's mind and heart would have gone astray, had he not held them with his power (*śakti*). 'Lest I should go astray, he laid his hand on me.' He is inseparable even for a moment from the hearts of the devotees; though far distant from those devoid of love, he is the inner delight of those who worship him (1.1-10). He and his power (*śakti*) reside among the devotees; as supreme Being he encounters the devotees and leads their God-intent minds to final liberation (21.1).

The One, the most precious, the Infinite, came down to earth;
 I did not despise his descent as Guru who appeared in grace.
 Śiva, the mighty Lord, as honey and as sweet ambrosia, himself came, entered my
 soul and gave his grace to me, his slave.

The purpose of his grace-giving descent on earth in the form of a Guru, and of his presence in souls as the supreme wisdom, is that all false things might take to flight; that the true wisdom might gleam bright in true splendour; that unwisdom might flee far off. The unseen Lord, appearing in visible form as guru, lends his aid with motherly love to his devotees; any more, he penetrates their bodies and thrills them with the honeyed ambrosia of pure light. That God's descent on earth has love and mercy for motive is clear: 'With motherly love he descended in grace to open the rich store of mercy' (10.10). 'The gracious (Lord) who left the heavens, entered this earth, made men his own; the only (Lord) . . . entered my soul and fills my thought' (18.4).

God's whole activity is motivated by his love; there is no act of his but expresses this love; for his activity is again and again portrayed in terms of love. 'He loves his devotees and governs them by his grace.' God is explicitly and formally called a bhakta (*pattā pōrri*: hail to the lover) (4.176). He is the lover (*kāṭalan*) of souls (2.113). To the loving ones he is the lover (*anparukkanpan*) (2.119). To those who love him with perfect love he is love itself that surpasses theirs (5.69). His love for men, far from failing, burgeons forth day by day (4.86).

Māṇikkavācakar portrays God's love in terms of mercy and grace. God, who is the ocean of mercy (*karuṇaik katal*) (10.9), gives the heavenly food of mercy and grace to sustain devotees in their spiritual life (3.179-81). His nature itself is said to consist of merciful love, more precious than a mother's. God is the sacred mount of grace and goodness, altogether free from evil. He is the flood of mighty, changeless mercy. His mercy knows no bounds.

The tree of divine grace in a unique way sprang, rose up, sent forth its boughs which none can count; rightly he cared for me and called me and helped me to ride in state aloft (10.8) (namely, in the realm of spiritual experience of grace).

(God's rule of love extends to the in most sanctuary of human thoughts and aspirations) He rules over my wandering thought and shows love and abides in my heart and soul.

He works in grace of love in order that wickedness may die out in the hearts of men. (1.65-6)

When I knew not his form, even then he fixed his love on me, planted himself within my thought and flesh and thus made me his.

With greater love than that of the mother who thoughtfully feeds (her child) with milk, melting the flesh of the sinner like me, flooding my soul with inner light, (God) bestows, unweary, honeyed bliss. (37.9).

It is in words such as these that Māṇikkavācakar describes the greatness of God's love.

It is above all in God's gift of himself that his love is manifested to devotees in the

supreme degree. However unworthy the creatures may be, God, out of love, bestows on his *bhaktas* no less a gift than his own Self. He gives himself to the devotees as the supreme gift, incomparable with the poor gift they make of themselves to him. 'You gave me your own self; in return you have accepted me, a poor wretch . . . You gave me infinite bliss; in return what did you receive from me? (Nothing much worth)' (22.10).

Man's Love for God

(a) Bhakti as God's Grace

As the outset, it is important to note that Māṇikkavācakar teaches that *bhakti* is a free gift of God bestowed on a religious soul, eager to follow the path of liberation. He constantly prays to God: 'Grant me the grace of melting in ceaseless love for you.' 'In grace bestow love to your glorious feet that I may praise you ceaselessly' (5.6). It is the Lord who bestows love, who makes hearts melt with love for him (4.2). With full realisation for God's gift of love, he observes: 'The supreme light plunged me deep in the sea of love (*patti*), how sweet his mercy is!' (11.12). 'He bestowed on me inconceivable love and made me his own.'

(b) Quest for the Grace of Bhakti

Although *bhakti* is proposed as a free gift of God, Māṇikkavācakar does not intend to make it work automatically, irrespective of man's longing for it. It is abundantly clear from the texts that he is far from proposing a doctrine of grace according to which God does everything and man nothing. He considers *bhakti* as a cherished possession which one has to long for above all else. 'I do not dread any birth . . . I do not crave for heaven itself; I do not deem it worthwhile to rule this earth . . . my only anxiety is: when shall I obtain your grace (of love):' (5.12). The first of the following prayers is comparable with the best in religious literature:

Give me grace that ceaseless love for you may abide in the inmost of my heart, melting (in love) my very soul. (5.11)

You see that I cling to none but you . . . If you who made me your own deny your grace, to whom shall I complain? To whom shall I tell my sorrow? . . . bid me come to you. (28.1)

Your desire me and rule me by your grace . . . I desire nothing else, but intense love for you.

If at all I desire a gift from you, it is your love. (33.6)

(The mystic finds all bliss in God alone). Seeking blessedness, I do not want Indra's (choicest) delights nor those of other gods; I do not live save united with your feet. (5.72)

I do not seek friends, relatives; I do not want (to rule) any city, nor (to acquire) fame. I do not seek the learned (men's society) . . .

I seek your (sacred) feet . . . that as the cow yearns for its calf, my longing soul may melt. (39.3).

I follow you closely and have seized you and hold you fast. (37.9)

Never losing my hold, I cling to you firmly. (37.1)

(c) The Means of Liberation

This intense longing for love of God is not merely an emotional feeling but love penetrated by knowledge. Time and again the *Tiruvācakam* proposes *bhakti* accompanied by contemplation and meditation on God: *manallāl nīnaintu urukī*: meditating in mind and melting (in love); *palakāl unnaip pāvittu*: repeatedly contemplating you. *Bhakti* is a genuine inner love which 'overflows within the devotees' (inmost) soul (*aṭiyār uḷḷattu*)' (2.7). Māṇikkavācakar says, 'I am pierced with real, never intermittent love, just as a wedge is driven into a soft young tree' (4.63 f.) 'My inmost self is dissolved in strong love; love's river overflows its banks' (4.80 f.)

The genuine, intellectual, inner *bhakti* is the way of salvation because it alone frees souls from the fetters of old deeds (*pala vinai*) and the mind's impurity (*citta malam*, egoism); they attain *śivam*, the form of Śiva (51.1). 'God bears to supreme bliss (only) the devotees who love him. If it were not given . . . to melt in love for god . . . what can I do, a poor sinner?' (5.36). God is attainable by love. 'Sec, he is caught in the net of love (*aruṇaṭṭalai*)' (3.42). Māṇikkavācakar is never satisfied with half-hearted love for God, for, he says,

God demands total love; he demands my all. (10.13)

There was in you desire for me, in me for you. (5.80)

I long to sing your praise, while all my being sinks and melts in love. I long to unite with you in order to leave falsehood aside, you who are true to the genuine devotees. (5.100)

This genuine, intellectual, total *bhakti* results in the devotee's reaching the divine himself. '(God) has increased light and banished darkness; he has cut off affliction's clinging bond, and given light of love . . . well-pleased to make my heart his own' (47.11). St. Paul speak of the Christian life as putting on Christ; somewhat similarly, Māṇikkavācakar speaks of being clothed with God, and expresses his inability to do so by him own powers: 'I do not know how I may put on (*unaiṭ pūnum ārariyēn*).

Lastly, *bhakti*, for Māṇikkavācakar as for other Śaivite mystics, includes the realisation of one's unworthiness. A keen sense of one's nothingness results from the awareness that all one possesses comes from God as a free gift, and self-regard vanishes if one acknowledges one's failings in the presence of God. Without such a humility there can be no genuine love of God, for true humility is based on the realisation of the true relationship that exists between God and the devotee.

Māṇikkavācakar in his poems frequently expresses feelings of deep humility in clear terms.

I, the vile one (*pulaiyanēn*) dwell in a short-lived house of worms where false illusions grow and press. (37.3)

O God infinite, exalted over all! You have assigned a place in supreme bliss for me, a mere slave, the lowest of all (men). (47.8).

To me, mean as I was, with no good thing (of my own), you grant grace that I should mingle in love, melt in soul-subduing rapture . . . You favoured me with grace, me who am a mere slave, meaner than any dog. (1.56-61)

I am unworthy to be counted among your loving ones . . . Lifting high the meanest thing, you brought low the heavenly ones. (5.10)

This experience of his unworthiness went hand in hand with a profound sense of his sinfulness and a craving for forgiveness. He declares,

I am false, my heart is deceitful and my love is sham; but if your sinful servant weep (in sorrow for sin), he can gain you. (5.90)

You deign to visit me a sinful man (*pāviyēn*). (37.9)

Fear holds me, for in dark confusion I forgot the grace that saves me; I am a cur and a cheat. Life is joyless; now let your grace speak; bid : me come to you. (28.6)

Often enough he implores from God pardon and forgiveness for his sins:

Pardon my offences. (33.3)

It is the duty of great ones to forgive faults.

I am a thief with a deceitful heart, stiff-necked, hard-hearted; melt my heart and possess me by your mercy. (10.11)

Distrustful of himself, he laments: 'My senseless heart brings ruin to me' (5.33). However acute be the feeling of unworthiness and self-abasement, Māṇikkavācakar's religion is one of optimism, hope, and trust in God. The prevalent note of optimism and holy elation runs across the experience of his sinfulness.

Even though I am a sinner, I can cry: Will you not grant yourself to me? (34.10)

I am of (evil) deeds; yet you are my riches; lest I should rot in my foul flesh and die, you have preserved me and now I am yours; you are our God, boundless sea of grace. (37.2)

I had no virtue, no penance, no true knowledge, no self-control . . . but he filled me in every limb, with love's intense longing. (50.3)

Though I am a great sinner, your will is not to sever from me. (5.37)

(d) The Final State of Liberation

When true love matures in the devotee's soul and takes the form of mystical experience, the mystic is said to be liberated from the fetters of *karma* and *samsāra* and to be most intimately united with God.

The state of liberation, for Māṇikkavācakar, does not consist in the experience of the timeless and spaceless, eternal, ultimate, impersonal Absolute Being, but in love and union with a personal God:

Love joined me to your feet in mystic union.

The supreme bliss is ever full of my love (*anpu*); this state cannot be attained unless my Lord enters into me (*enninul pukuntu*). (49.2)

He came, and while my soul dissolved, in love he made me his own. (5.29)

You made me yours, thrilling my frame through every pore; you are the Lord who melting my bones, entered my (inmost) self as a shrine. (37.10)

(God is the Lord) who grants the bhaktas the grace of union with him by mingling with them. (1. 130-1)

It is a state of divine of God.

You made my thought your thought; you made my eyes rest on the blest flowers of your feet . . . you came to fill my senses and made me yours . . . you gave me yourself. (5.26)

The Lord deigns to rise in the soul as a bright sun chasing the darkness out of my mind; this nature of your (action) I (interiorly) realised; besides you there is nothing (valuable for me). (22.7)

This spiritual vision is more elaborately described:

The light that hides within my soul shall suddenly rise and burn—shall it not?

God will come in order that (the experience of) the manifold phenomena may cease—will he not?

Divine experiences unknown before shall rise unfolding—shall they not?

The excellent (divine) nature that even the heavenly ones know not shall be with us—shall it not?

We shall attain the limitless eightfold qualities—shall we not?

if (only) he whose head is adorned by crescent moon designs to arise to make us his. (49.7)

Māṇikkavācakar conceives of the mystic union in terms of marital love.

In the *tirukkural* (*Kāṁattup pāl*) Valluvar has many beautiful couplets on what might be called 'eastern' romantic love? The spirit of these couplets is already found in the *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷ atikāram*:

Fearless, when maids with golden jewels decked, and youths meet, see and love, they call it still Gandharva marriage-bond.

Thus once the pairs of these, blameless vision fair, who turned the lute, all gold and raldant, used to join.

A mystical interpretation is given to the above love-affairs, or, more correctly, the love-affairs affords the mystic the imagery and language needed to describe the mystic union. Mānikkavācakar interprets it as an allegory exhibiting the play of the divine Spirit with the embodied soul.

Wearing the flowery 'cassia' wreath, I will join myself to Śiva's mighty arms; and joining I will cling to him lost in ecstasy. Then shrinking will I melt with love of his rosy lips; I will seek him and seeking I will meditate on his feet. (8.17)

The saint addresses the following verse to the humming bee; in it the spouse (the soul) finds all sweetness in God.

Not sipping honey from any flower, however small, even as tiniest grain of millet seed, whenever, we think of him, see him, speak of him, then honey of bliss ever flows till all our frame dissolves within (10.3)

The heavenly union of lovers (God and the devotee) is described as follows:

Dissolved in bliss the soul melts utterly and gesticulates in raputure, laughing, shedding tears, paying homage of hand and lip . . . to see with joyous thrill the sacred form (of Śiva) . . . When shall I be joined with him in mystic union? (27.8)

The divine lover has a claim over the devotees' life and service. 'You, maids, (know that he is) the Lord whose eye looked on me sweetly, claiming due service . . . (he is) the Lord who takes the maidens' bright armlets and claims their self (*uyir*) and true service' (42.3). The cuckoo's errand brings out the same point more clearly:

Hear, little cuckoo in the groves rich with honeyed fruit! The gracious Lord spurned heaven and came to earth to save men; despising the flesh he entered my mind and became my very thought. (18.3)

(41.3) He came and tenderly embracing made me his; this miracle of grace I know not.

In return, the mystic longs for the divine presence:

I ever pine to see your flowery feet. (5.13)

(My) sparkling eyes shall then embrace his sacred form, shall it not be . . . if Iśa, my own loving spouse, meet me here in presence? (49.3)

We shall enjoy the bliss of remaining within his loved embrace, shall it not be (49.4)

While describing the mystic union, Māṇikkavācakar speaks of the loss of self on the part of the mystic. 'In him (God) my body, soul, and thought, and mine were merged; how all my self was lost, sing we and beat *tellēnam*' (12.18). 'My bliss, you did dissolve my soul and do consume my life' (44.3). There is not the slightest doubt that these statements do not mean total annihilation, even at the level of the mystic's experience of the self. Māṇikkavācakar himself explains the meaning of these texts by declaring that in the mystic union God destroyed 'all thought of "I" and "mine"'. 'My action ceased (*ennutaiya ceyal māṇṭa*)' (11.11). In this inestimable union the knowledge and experience of God as separate from the self disappears; all worldly desires die out; empirical language and action cease; the sense of "I" (*īarpōtam*) vanishes; instead, the experience that 'all are the doing of Śiva' (*civapōtam*) is realised and lived. "I" and "mine": such thought and speech he (God) destroyed. (There is) no egoistic experience of "mine" and "I" (34.3).

This point is more clearly brought out when Māṇikkavācakar describes the mystic state as consisting of the mystic's participation in and total dedication to God. 'What you (God) have given is *you*, and what you have gained is *me*? Entering within my breast he (God) made me his' (13.17). 'O Lord, I have seized your . . . hold you fast! Henceforth, whither grace imparting would you rise?' (37.1) To the divine self-gift the mystic responds with the gift of himself and total surrender. 'I am not my own; your servant am I; I can live no moment severed from you' (44.2). 'Abide in me. You can govern, sell, mortgage me (as you like)'; i.e. 'I am entirely yours, and you can do what you like with me.'

We have seen that the Āgamas recognise four stages towards liberation: *caryā* (religio-moral conduct), *kriyā* (devout service and assistance at Śiva-worship), *yoga* (meditation on Śiva), *jñāna* (mystical realisation of God). These states receive a deep signification only in the context of the full flowering of *bhakti* among the Tamil mystics. *Bhakti as the means of salvation*. Tirumūlar describes *bhakti* as 'melting in love for God': God is accessible only to those who accomplish this. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār proclaims that the love of Śiva has absorbed her whole life, and that the path of love liberates devotees from the evil of action and rebirth and enables them to attain his feet. Campantar advocates *bhakti* as the most efficacious means of liberation, constituting the sum and substance of religion itself. Single-minded love to God is one of the recurring themes of Cuntarar. The devotee should surrender himself in love and take refuge in him in order to be freed from fetters. For Appar heartfelt deep *bhakti* is what matters in devotees' worship and in the attainment of salvation. According to Māṇikkavācakar, *bhakti* is a cherished possession which a religious person has to long for constantly. For he say, 'I do not crave from heaven itself; I do not deem it worthwhile to rule this earth...my only desire is: when shall I obtain your grace of love?...Give me grace that ceaseless love for you may abide in the inmost of my heart, melting in love my very soul.' Sincere, luminous, and steady *bhakti* is indispensable for liberation, since such an attitude alone destroys self-centredness, the root cause of all evil, and makes the soul God-centred. *Bhakti*, as commonly proposed by Nāyanmārs, includes a profound sense of humility and self-abasement, keen awareness of one's sinfulness, and total surrender to God.

Bhakti as salvation itself. *Bhakti*, for these mystics, is not merely the means of salvation, but, in its most perfect form, the essence of salvation itself. The state of liberation lies precisely in the mystical realisation of one's radical orientation to, and dependence on, God. By the mystical state Tirumūlar understands union with God in love; in this state the soul, stripped of its egoism, lives in complete possession of God. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār portrays the mystical experience of love as the vision of God like bright light. The liberating *jñāna* is the outcome of perfect love in which union with God is effected. Nāyanmārs express this doctrine more vividly. For Appar, the experience of *bhakti* ripens into the mystical state of liberation which consists in union with God. For Cuntarar, deep *bhakti* involves reciprocal possession on the parts of God and the devotee. God enters the Bhakta's mind and the *bhakta* in turn belongs to him in full surrender. According to Māṇikkavācakar the state of liberation does not mean experience of the timeless and spaceless, eternal, ultimates, and impersonal Absolute, but union in love with a personal God. For he pointedly observes, 'Love joined me to your feet in mystic union...The supreme bliss is ever full of my love; this state cannot be attained unless my Lord enters into me.'

23

Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava

Śiva and Sūrya, the members of the Brahmanical pentad, are occasionally found to be associated with each other in some of the Puranic texts. In one of them, the *Agni-Purāṇa*, they have been expressly described as having been united in one body, and the resultant composite form has been designated as Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava. Allusions to this composite form of Śiva and Sūrya are met with in other treatises, such as the *Śāradatīlakatantra*, *Hayasīrsa Pañcarātra* and *Viśvakarmasāstra*. Importantly enough, the practice of worshipping Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava has been attested by a few surviving iconic examples. The close association of Śiva and Sūrya, as described in the Purāṇas under discussion, seems to have had its genesis in the Vedic literature wherein Sūrya in the form of Agni has been identified with Rudra-Śiva. Among the Purāṇas associating Śiva with Sūrya mention may be made of *Matsya*, *Skanda*, *Liṅga*, *Sāmba* and the above-mentioned *Agni*.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* contains at least two references indicating such an association. Ādityaśayanavrata, mention has been made of the worship of Umā-Maheśvara under the name of the Sun. Again, it is said that there is no difference between Umāpati and Ravi. Then, after having enumerated the Sun's names and epithets by which Śiva is denoted, the text adds: Homage to that one, who carries noose, goad, trident, lotus, skull-cup, serpent, moon and bow. It may be observed that seven of the above-mentioned attributes are markedly Śavite, only one (the lotus, *padma*) is the characteristic emblem of the Sun. This further shows that the god has eight hands. Chapter 93 Navagrahahomasānti-vidhāna explains a rite in honour of the Ine Grahas, each of them being associated with one titular divinity (*adhidevata*), e.g. Īśvara is that of the Sun, Umā of the moon and the like. The *Matsya-Purāṇa*, therefore, presents Śiva as closely with the Sun.

The *Skanda-Purāṇa* as well as the *Sauradharmā* (cited by Hcādrī in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇī*) refers to the Sun as Hiraṇyaretas or Suvamaretas who is equal to Śiva. In the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* the story of Diṇḍī is narrated as follows: After tearing away Brahmā's head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Dāruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages became agitated. So the sages drove Rudra away from the place. Rudra then went to the solar region where the Sun's chief attendants advised him to appeal to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra eulogised the Sun, the result being that he became purified and was

given the name *Diṇḍi*. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a sacred place on the earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others.

The sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of *Avimukta-kṣetra* to the place where Rudra practised austerities for attaining his favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow to the latter and the Sun at that place, would become sinless. The story thus seems to indicate the way how the cult of *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* developed. In the *Linga-Purāṇa*, we find reference to such a syncretic form of *Sūrya* and *Śiva*. The two sectarian *Purāṇas*, viz. *Sāmba* and *Linga*, classed as *Saura* and *Śaiva* respectively, refer to the cult of *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*. This type of image is described in the *Sāradatilaka Tantra* as follows: "We render homage to the god who possesses an innate lustre as the bud of a golden lotus and has in his hands *khaṭvāṅga*, *padma*, *cakra*, *śakti*, *pāśa*, *sr̥ṇi*, *akṣamālā* and *kapāla*. Obelance to him who has four faces and is beautified by three eyes each and wears a tiara of precious pearls and is ornamented with a necklace.

In the *Agni-Purāṇa*, (CCCI. 12-14) *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*'s attributes are identical with those given in the *Nārāyaṇīya*, cited by *Rāghava-bhaṭṭa* on the *Tantra*. The passage *sindur-āruṇam-iśānam vām-ārdha-dayitam Ravim* is explained by *Rāghava-bhaṭṭa* as follows: *Īśāna* is of red vermilion colour having *Ravi* in the left as his loving better half. Though the interpretation is clear and acceptable, the aforesaid verse is grammatically incorrect and is no doubt suggestive of the vermilion colour of *īśāna* having his beloved goddess on the left. According to D.C. Sircar, *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* sometimes represents a combination of *Śiva* (*Ardhanārīśvara*) and *Sūrya*, but such a form is neither referred to in any of the *Purāṇas* nor is known in plastic art. On the other hand, *Śiva* is described in many texts as having his beloved goddess on the left. In its description of the syncretic form of *Sūrya* and *Śiva*, the *Linga-Purāṇa*, as we have seen above, mentions the latter as *Ardhanārīśvara*.

Incidentally, some manuscripts of the *Agni-Purāṇa*, preserved in the Asiatic Society, give the verse as *sindur-āruṇam īśanam vām-ārdha-dayitam param*. M.N. Dutta translated the verse on the basis of a version of the text where the *śloka* about *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* is bisected and distributed in two chapters. A portion of the Chapter CCCI of this *Purāṇa* was arbitrarily incorporated in the previous Chapter, i.e., Chapter CCC. In course of a discussion on *graha-hṛnamantra* in this chapter, a syncretic form of *Sūrya* and *Śiva* is described abruptly and irrelevantly. If the verses from the middle portion of verse 10a to 26a of Chapter CCC are eliminated, the said chapter appears to be a complete and usual one. This chapter seems to have been written in the same way as above in Ms. No. 2744, 69-B-1, of the Asiatic Society.

The Agamic texts enumerate as many as sixty-four *Bhairavas* divided in groups of eight, each group being headed respectively by the names like *Asitāṅga*, *Ruru*, *Caṇḍa-Krodha*, *Unmatta-Bhairava*, *Kapāla*, *Bhīṣaṇa* and *Saṁhāra*. *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* belongs to the *Asitāṅga* group. The *Bhairavas* of this group are of golden complexion and have good-looking limbs and carry the *trisūla*, *ḍamaru*, *pāśa* and *khaḍga*.

Recently my attention to the iconographic prescriptions of Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava contained in 'Saurakāṇḍa' of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* has been drawn by K.K. Dasgupta.

The said *kāṇḍa* gives descriptions of three forms of Marttaṇḍa-Bhairava, namely six, twelve-, and eighteen-handed. In his six-handed form, the god is represented as standing on a boat. He wields various weapons and has a fierce face with the whole range of teeth exposed, his matted hair is tied up with a snake. He wears a garland of human heads (*muṇḍa-mālā*). In his right hands, he displays *cakra*, *triśūla*, and *parigha*, and in the left *damaru*, *gada* and *khaṭvāṅga*. He has broad chest and well-formed hands. He is represented as surrounded and served by his attendants Daṇḍin and Piṅgala and his gaṇas, Kinnaras and other godlings. When the deity is represented as having twelve hands, he exhibits *khadga*, *khetaka*, *cāpa*, *śūla*, *mudgara*, *ghaṇṭā*, *madhupātra*, *karṭṛka*, *cakra*, *parigha*, *triśūla* and *damaru*. In his eighteen-handed form he is to carry *khadga*, *dhanu*, *muṣala*, *pāśa*, *mudgara*, *churikā*, *pattīśa*, *khetaka*, *śūla*, *ghaṇṭā*, *madhupātra*, *karṭṛka*, *cakra*, *parigha*, *triśūla*, *damaru*, *gada* and *khaṭvāṅga*.

It is interesting to note that all the above descriptions of Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava omit the characteristic emblem of the Sun-god, though they mention his attendants called Daṇḍin and Piṅgala. And, therefore, it becomes all the more interesting to meet with a figure at either end of the bottom tier above the *nāḥā* (projection) of the porch of the temple No. 1 at Konarak (Orissa) which answers to the six handed form of the Bhairava in question noted above. The deity is life-sized and is endowed with four heads. Terrific in appearance, he is characterised by protruding fangs and a garland of chopped heads (*muṇḍa-mālā*) and exhibits in his left hands as *gada*, a *khaṭvāṅga*, and a *damaru*, and in the right hands a *kapāla*, a *triśūla* and a *cakra* respectively. And more, in conformity with the relevant description he dances in ecstasy in a boat (*naukā*). Thus these images, identical with each other, can be indubitably designated as Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava.

Among other extant specimens of Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava which are few in number, mention may be made of a six-armed composite image from Madhia in the old Panna State (now in M.P.). It appears that the image has some bearing on the aforesaid conception of Marttaṇḍa-Bhairava as it holds in two of its left hand *triśūla* and *padma*, the third hand being in the *varada* pose. One of the right hands is broken, the others holding the *padma* and *nirgāṅka* (deer) symbols. The boots on the legs and the lotuses in the hands are unmistakable solar features, while the trident and deer symbols are Śaivite attributes. But a more prominent image of three-faced and ten-armed Marttaṇḍa-Bhairava belonging to the twelfth century was found at the village of Manda in the Rajshahi district, now in Bangladesh.

Research Museum, Rajshahi the representation is in high relief on a stone slab measuring 3'x 4.6-1/2". The two fore arms, which held lotuses with stalks, and the two below them are broken. The face of the main figure and the crown are mutilated. Its left hands hold *sarpa*, *damaru*, *kaumudī* and a *padma* and its right hands *khaṭvāṅga*, *triśūla*, *śakti* and *padma*. The image has a pointed nimbus with a *kirtimukha* at the top and two flying figures of Vidyādhara on two sides of it. At the back are shown flames tapering towards the top. It is richly bejewelled, but does not wear any breast-plate, though a thin scarf is

shown across the chest. It wears elaborately carved *kañṭha-hāra*, *kārṇa-kunḍala*, *śiro-bandha*, *kañṭi-bandha* and *yajñopavīta*. Though the face of the main figure is slightly mutilated, the pointed *tilaka* or the third eye is yet visible. Each of the other two faces, on the left and right of the main figure, also wears *jaṭāmukuta* and has three eyes, and one of the two is shown as bearded with the whole range of teeth exposed. The main deity stands erect on a full-blown lotus or *padma-pīṭha*. A small dagger passed through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image. On either side are two arrow-shooting female figures. They are *Usas* and *Pratyusas*. On the extreme right of the image is the bearded figure of *Piṅgala* holding pen and ink-stand. On the left of the image stands *Daṇḍin* grasping the handle of sword.

There are also two female figures holding whisks, who are the consorts of the Sun-god. On a *padma-pīṭha* in front of the main image, stands the goddess *Prṥhvi*. In front of this again is seen a female figure with developed breasts, with a serpent-hood behind her head and a cord in her right hand. She is riding on a *Makara* and waves are visible by her side. She may be identified with *Gaṅgā* on the basis of a story narrated in the *Sāmba-Purāṇa*. According to it, the Sun god gave the name *Avimukta-kṣetra* to the place where *Rudra* practised austerities for attaining his favour and he declared that one who would now to *Sūrya* and *Rudra* at this place would become free from all sin. Now, *Avimukta-kṣetra*, the other name of *Vārāṇasī*, which is situated on the bank of the *Ganga*, might have kindled the imagination of the sculptor of the *Manda* relief to portray the river-goddess in question in his work. In all likelihood the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* originated in *Oriṣa*, and it was thus not unnatural for the artists of *Bengal*, the neighbour to have been familiar with this *Sāmba-Purāṇa* story.

The earliest image of *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* perhaps comes from *Gandhawal*, *M.P.* It may be assigned to the tenth century and is thus earlier than the *Manda* example. There are four identical figures, usually dubbed *Sūrya*, on the thirteenth-century *gopuras* (gateways) of the *Natarāja* temple at *Chidambaram*, *Tamīlnāḍu*. About one of them, appearing on the inner side of the western *gopura*, *H. Krishna Sastri* remarked that it 'represents *Sūrya* as composed of *Brahmā*, *Maheśvara* and *Vishṇu*.' The image on the inner side of the northern *gopura* is better preserved and all the eight hands of the god are intact, the attributes in the back right hands being an *akṣasūtra*, a *padma*, a small club and *abhaya-mudrā* and those in the left being a *pāśa*, a *padma*, small club and *varada-mudrā*; the god is standing on a chariot drawn by *Aruṇa* and is flanked by female attendants, apparently his wives. All these four figures may represent either *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* or the composite god called *Brahmā-Sūrya* or *Dhatṛ* or *Dhātā*.

Of late a few more images of *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* have come to light, one of them being unique. Carved on the wall of a temple at *Nagda* in the *Udaipur* district, *Rajasthan*, it shows the god as seated on a lotus and as holding a pair of full-blown lotuses in his principal hands and a *triśūla* and a *khatvāṅga* in his upper right and left hands respectively (Plate 2). The other examples at *Ranakpur* (*Marwar* district, *Rajasthan*) and the *Gadiya* temple (*Ataru*, near *Kotah*, *Rajasthan*). The former, carved on the old Sun temple, carries

two full-blown lotuses in his lower hands and a *triśūla* in the upper left hand, the remaining hand being broken. The second specimen has its principal hands broken, the upper hands are visible with a *sarpa* and a *triśūla*; in it the god wears a *katucha* and is attended by Daṇḍin and Piṅgala.

Another sculpture, relevant to the present context, is the representation of a wheel (*cakra*) in the form of a double lotus. Datable to the tenth or the early eleventh century, this twelve-spoked wheel resting on a pedestal hails from Khiching (Orissa) and is now preserved in the Indian Museum. In the hub of the inner wheel-lotus the four-armed and four-faced deity is seen seated on a lotus. The intervening space between the inner and outer rims is occupied by nine planets, each depicted in a compartment. The exterior rim is ornamented by flames, thus indicating the solar character of the entire object. Marie Therese Mallmann identified this wheel as the *Ravi-maṇḍala* and the central figure as representation of *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* on the authority of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. But this identification is not beyond doubt, since the attributes are difficult to ascertain. We are inclined to take it as a plain *Navagraha-cakra*, with *Sūrya* as the central divinity.

24

Meykaṇḍār Literature

The religion and even the theology of Śaivism which comes to be labelled as Śaiva Siddhānta involving use of concepts of Śiva, the beneficent, of Paṭi, the sovereign Lord, of Hara, the universal destroyer, of cosmic creation and cosmic dissolution, of Karma, understood as an act of divine providence, of Bondage and Liberation, was in full vogue in the land of the Tamils in the early Christian centuries. Of their vogue even earlier as forming part and parcel of the cultural fabric of the ancient Tamils also we have ample evidence. But in the spate of religious and devotional literature that constitutes the main bulk of Tamil literature of the period from the first to the tenth century, the outlines of the religion and philosophy of Śaivism are clearly discernible. Historically we know of the vogue and prestige of the religio-philosophical treatises called Śaivāgamas during the time to the Pallavas, the Colas and the Pāṇḍiyas. These treatises were looked upon as scriptures containing the ultimate sanctions or authority for worship, cult, rituals and also for theology. Though these treatises were ■ Sanskrit it is conceivable that there were many of them in Tamil also.

Alternately the Sanskrit ones themselves could be viewed as renderings into the lingua franca of that time of the ideas originally systematised in Tamil. We are at least sure in the case of one Tamil work of the period that it is both an *āgama* according to its own admission and also an original independent Tamil work, viz., Tirumandiram. There is practically nothing in the later Śaiva Siddhānta literature that we are about to consider that cannot be documented from the verse of Tirumandiram. Even the attempt to reconcile Vedānta with the claims of Siddhānta and the interpretation of the identity texts of the Vedas compatibly with the spirit of Śaiva Siddhānta—even these we find in Tirumandiram. Yet tradition Tirumandiram classified under the corpus of devotional literature while the later Śaiva Siddhānta treatises are taken to constitute the corpus of Śāstra. As we shall see this is not without some justification.

The period following on the heels of the Śaiva devotional literature in Tamil land was also the period that witnessed a revival in Hindu Brahminical theology in the form of Vedānta. It was revolutionary in its significance specially in the form in which it made its impact as the Advaita through the works of Śaṅkara (788-820 A.D.). Broadly speaking it consists of a doctrine of Brāhman 'understood as undifferentiated pure Being, devoid of qualities and relation', and also complementarily to this doctrine, a theory of Illusionism

(Māyāvādam) according to which the world including the individual selves is only an appearance of Brāhman. Knowledge is the sole means of Liberation and there is no logical sequence either between duty (Dharma) and Liberation (Mokṣa) or even between devotion (Bhakti) and Liberation. Duty is only a moral purification necessary but not sufficient. So also devotion can only help in the attainment of one-pointedness of mind. A full-fledged epistemology and metaphysics came to be developed controverting the claims of realism and pluralism and vindicating the stand-point of advaita.

As a first reaction to this, Vaiṣṇava theism appeared on the scene in the form of a fully elaborated, logically argued theology of 'qualified non-dualism' (Viśiṣṭādvaitam). Rāmānuja (11th century), himself preceded by a line of thinkers, wrote his commentaries on the Brahmāsūtras and the Gita as a counterblast to those of Śankara, and thus inaugurated a new tradition of Vedānta, called the Viśiṣṭādvaita. A second phase of this theistic revolt we find in the advent of the tradition of dualistic Vedānta (dvaitam) under the lead of Madhva (13th century). It is very significant to note that the home of this great revolution within Hinduism was South India, if not Tamil Land.

A third phase of this theistic revolt is seen in the advent of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition, taking lead from Meykaṇḍār of about the same period. This tradition understands 'non-dualism' in a different way and its interpretation steers clear of the classical absolutistic, pluralistic, dualistic and monistic interpretations. Its approach to the question of relation of man and God defines its position as a philosophy of 'non-dualistic' advaitism. This may be taken as the 'unqualified' interpretation of advaita or 'pure advaita' (Śuddhādvaitam). This approach was there even before the advent of Meykaṇḍār as we are able to see from the hymns of the Śaivite saints and Tirumandirram. But the contribution of Meykaṇḍār lies in that he, accepting all the views of the preceptors who preceded him cut a new path which comprised all the views that opposed it. Thus the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition proves itself an all inclusive one and the credit of this goes to Meykaṇḍār, after whom the Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras are called the Meykaṇḍa Sāttiram (Skt. Śāstra).

Meykaṇḍa Śāstras are fourteen in number. They are—(1) Tiruvundiyār, (2) Tirukkalīruppaḍiyār, (3) Śivañāna Bōdam (Skt. Śivajñāna Bodham), (4) Śivañāna Siddiyār (Skt. Śivajñāna Siddhiyār), (5) Irupāirupahdu, (6) Uṇmaiṭṭilakkam, (7) Śivappirakāśam (Skt. Śivaprakāśam), (8) Tirvaruṭṭayan, (9) Vināvenbā, (10) Pōṭṭippahṛōḍai, (11) Koḍikkavi, (12) Neṇcuṭṭutūdu, (13) Uṇmainerṭṭilakkam, and (14) Saṅkarpanirākaraṇam.

Śaiva Siddhānta Treatises Before Meykaṇḍār

The chief concepts of Śaiva Siddhānta were in popular vogue before Meykaṇḍār's Śivañāna Bōdam appeared on the scene. Also a few Tamil treatises on the philosophy and religion of Śaiva Siddhānta seemed to have gained recognition before Meykaṇḍār. Nanāmirdam (Skt. Jñānāmṛtam) is one such pre-Meykaṇḍa Śāstra in Tamil. Its diction

and meter clearly indicate its antiquity relatively to the period of Meykaṇḍa literature. Its author Vāḡisar or Vāḡisa Munivar, is thought to belong to 12th century, thus anteceding Meykaṇḍar by about 100 years. The name Vāḡiśa Paṇḍitan is found in one of the inscriptions of Rajadī Raja II (1163—78 A.D.), with the significant description tagged to it, viz., one who explains and propagates the 'Sōma Sambhu Paddhati.'

The metaphysics or Śaiva Siddhānta is systematically expounded with arguments and refutations of rival views perhaps for the first time in Tamil language. Śivañāna Yogin, the Tamil commentator on the Śivañāna Bōdam, quotes profusely from this text and implies that this work is earlier than the Śivañāna Bōdam and that the latter is to be understood in the light of Nānāmirdam, at least with regard to certain issues. He says that Nānāmirdam is a work of general validity to be understood in the light of more specific and unambiguous treatments of the subject such as are to be found in Śivañāna Bōdam. He feels that this work is part of the 'general' phase of development within the Śaivāgama represented by Pauṣkara, Mrgendrra, Matanga and other Āgamas.

Vāḡiśa Munivar says that all the Āgamas speak of four things, viz., *carya*, *kriya*, *yoga* and *jñāna*. And he calls the *āgamas*, 'marai', the term used in Tamil to refer to Vedic scripture. The work commences with the avowal that it is the beginning of the *ñānapāda* implying thereby that it is a continuation coming after *carya* and other parts. To lend credence to this supposition, Śivañāna Munivar in his commentary quotes a stanza allegedly of Nānāmirdam but pertaining to Kriyāpādam.

Nānāmirdam (lit. nectar of knowledge) was obtained after churning the ocean of Ignorance with the Āgamas as the Stick, the knowledge as the hands and Upadēśa as the rope around the stick. This is how the author explains the title of his work. He poses a question: how can knowledge arise in a cit, a non-intelligent being? If self is intelligent, i.e., cit, how can it be himself answers these questions saying that fire is there in the firewood but unless some method of lighting ■ is employed the fire means of instruction from without, viz., by a preceptor (guru).

Nānāmirdam is divided into eight parts: They are (1) Sammiya *ñānam* (stanzas 8-14), (2) Sammiya *darśanam* (15-17), (3) Pāśa *bandam* (18-26), (4) Dēgāntaram (27-28), (5) Pāśānādittuvam (29-30), (6) Pāśaccēdam (31-52), (7) Patiniccayam (53-72), and (8) Pāśamocanam (73-75).

Expounding the theme of *ñānapādam* to consist of treatment of the nature of *paśu*, *pāśa* and *pati*, the author takes them up in this order. A complete definition of the finite self (*paśu*) means, according to the author, understanding the three states of *kevala*, *sakala* and *suddha*, through which it passes. The basis for the threefold understanding of acknowledgement of spiritual impurity which is connate with self. It is indeed in the light of this characteristic that *paśu* stands distinguished from *pati*. The impurity-ridden self becomes embodied by being conceived in the womb of *māyā*. Arguing about the existence of self the author gives negative and positive reasons for according recognition to the being of someone that is embodied as different from the body and then proceeds to explain the more basic distinction of the 'intelligent' and the non-intelligent' which is implied by the concept of life.

Sammiya Darśanam gives a horizontal and vertical account of the life of the finite self, and its fivefold states, which span its empirical and embodied life (sakalam).

The nature of bondage is next taken up and the grounds for the distinction of the multiple bonds are set forth. The threefold nature of impurity infesting the self, the primordial impurity of ānava that accounts for the general condition of servitude and bondage, the Impurity of *karma* that accounts for diverse and heterogeneous character of sentient experience and the Impurity of Māyā that binds the self in the form of body, sense, would and worldly objects, are clearly set down.

The doctrine of rebirth or transmigration of self which forms a sequel to the acceptance of karma and māyā is then explained. As the soldiers' steps marching in uninterrupted succession like the locomotion of the earthworm, like change of attire, like dream alternating with wakeful life, like an arrow that passes through its target, self transmigrates from one body to another.

Referring to the beginningless character of the bondage of various bonds the author points to a paradox that is posed by the doctrine. Māyā provides body, senses, etc., and *karma* makes action possible. Without the Association of *maya* and *karma* the self has no scope of achieving freedom from the Impurity of *Malam*. But as Māyā cannot function without the help of *karma* and *vice versa*, and with neither of them functioning the self cannot be freed from association with *malam*. It follows that self is forever destined to remain associated with these bonds. How is a state of 'purity', i.e., of freedom for various bonds conceivable for the self?

In answer to this the author expounds the doctrine of the "means of cutting loose of the fetter of bondage" (pāśaccēda upāyam) just as with the help of the very water which accounts for slush and mire one can cleanse oneself free of dirt caused by that more, the same body assumed as fruit of a previous deed can be of help in the cause of liquidation of *karma*. Commenting on the unique value of the doctrine the author hints at the probable meaning connoted by the name of the text, literally the Nānāmirdam 'ambrosia of knowledge.' Sweet as the combination of honey and nectar it is capable of conquering the great suffering of birth and conquering the immortality of freedom. It forever destroys the weed of pāśa by uprooting it, sets at naught the demerits, acts as a fence for merits and cures man of aversion and appetite.

The author also describes it more specifically as the doctrine of the "means of cutting asunder the bond of Karma" (kanmaccēda upāyam). That seems to be the content of the work. Once real knowledge dawns pāśa does not bind the realised ones, just like fire in the hand of a wizard does not get precipitated by dirt once again.

Pati is omnipresent. The feet of the Lord (Pati) is and is alone the refuge of the self. The world is non-intelligent and so an intelligent Being must have been there to bring it into existence; self cannot be the author for it is bound; the released ones cannot become the creators for they were not eternally free and there was someone who helped them get released from bondage. Lord Śiva is the author of the cosmic functions. Though He is formless He does this through His Śakti. Śiva is formless, is with a form and indeed both.

Though he performs these *pañcakṛtyas* (fivefold acts) He is not affected by these, for He acts through His Śakti.

The last section peaks of *pāśamōcanam*. The realised soul becomes one with Śiva. A question is posed here: Whether the soul was first freed from its *paśuta* and then became Śiva or *vice versa*. Both happen at the same time as the dispelling of the darkness and shining of the light.

The *Nānāmirdam*, in short, is a philosophy of spiritual life.

It was stated earlier that a few Tamil treatises on the philosophy of Śaiva Siddhānta had gained recognition before Meykaṇḍār's Śivañāna Bōdam appeared on the scene. *Nānāmirdam* was one such. The first two work, viz., *Tiruvundiyār* and *Tirukkalīṟuppaḍiyār*, of the fourteen Siddhānta Śāstras, also known as Meykaṇḍa Śāstras, are also pre-Meykaṇḍār treatises.

Tiruvundiyār and Tirukkalīṟuppaḍiyār

The author of *Tiruvundiyār* was Uyyavanda Deva Nāyanār of Tiruviyalūr, and that of *Tirukkalīṟuppaḍiyār* was Uyyavanda Dēva Nāyanār of Tirukkaḍavūr. The latter was, the disciple of the Āḷuḍaiya Dēva Nāyanār, who was the student of Uyyavanda Dēva Nāyanār, the author of *Tiruvundiyār*.

Tiruvundiyār contains forty-five verses whose burden chimed with a game played by women folk (*undi*).

Tirukkalīṟuppaḍiyār consists of one hundred verses in *venbā* meter. This can be called a poetical commentary on the *Tiruvundiyār*. As such it would do well to consider these two works together.

The author of *Tiruvundiyār* says that he that knows the truth of this work will be able to remove the malady of the entire world.

God, formless and unknown assumes out of His Grace the form of a spiritual preceptor and conferred on me that whereby I could become of the nature of Himself. If that Lord, embodiment of Grace, had not appeared in person and instructed how can the scripture come into existence? Or how can anybody know his Nature?

Only the word of Guru (preceptor) will remove the doubts; books do not help in this. The sea water does not quench the thirst. But when the same sea water is given in the form of rain from the cloud it is acceptable and useful for all purposes. The cow-dung, in spite of its being a dirt, is pure enough to remove all the dirt. So also the preceptor, though one among the people, is capable of removing the malady of birth. Pati ■ the Grace which is inseparable from the self. Śiva is not to be reached in the usual worldly way in which things are run after and sought. He is inseparable, and where the knowledge of soul fails to proceed, that is the place for Śiva to appear.

If one follows the *pathi* of the five-lettered *mantra*, the hidden consciousness can be unveiled and being one with it one can see Pati and oneself. The bond which conceals the Lord must be recognised and with its help, one can see the Lord and oneself. Here the change of *Tirodhāna Śakti* (a bond) into *arutsakti* (Grace, that reveals the Lord) is explained.

The realised ones remain like the tongue of the bell placed on the ground. The tongue is away from the edge (and does not make any sound) and it does not have a movement as it is seated on the ground. Thus the realised souls are away from the *talitas* and not affected by *āṇava* which leads to the 'I-ness' and 'my-ness.' In this state the self becomes one with the vast expanse of bliss without losing its individuality. This is an expanse without day (embodied state) and night (pre-embodied state). In this state the individual selves are one with Pati (the *aṣṭamūrti*) and so in no way in touch with the world, as such there is no relational or finite knowledge, which leads to transmigration. As the self is one with Pati, it is everything.

To those who have reached the *turiya* state, even the *jāgra* is like *turiya*, for Grace is everpresent to them. The lives of the four saints (Samayācāryas) of Śaivism provide good example for this.

Only Śiva Saddhānta speaks of such thing; other systems are like unyielding cross; so one should not waste one's time in trying to understand them. The self becomes one with Śiva and enjoys bliss only because of the latter's Grace. This does not mean the self becomes Śiva Himself. The self is self whether in the embodied or released state. The extraneous growth of a mango tree does not yield mangoes as the tree itself.

Though Tiruvundiār expounds such metaphysical truths there are scholars who believe that this is not a *śāstra*. But Śivañāna Munivar says this belongs to the 'specific' groups of the *śāstras*.

Tirukkalīṟṟuppaḍiyār mentions the miracles that occurred in the lives of many *nāyanmārs* and an explanation of the same in the light of the Siddhānta system is also given. The author maintains that though these *nāyanmārs* may be behaving like ordinary even they become identified with Śiva and all their acts are the acts of Śiva.

Sundaramūrti, while describing the *aḍiyārs* (devotees) classifies them as 'nal *aḍiyār*' and 'val *aḍiyār*'. The epithets 'nal' and 'val' with reference to *aḍiyārs* are explained by the author of Tirukkalīṟṟuppaḍiyār, as applying to their acts (*melvinal*) 'nalvinal' and 'valvinal.' "Whatever the action, the aim is the destruction of the separating self 'I' for when that self—the self that says I and mine in relation to others—is destroyed, Lord appears in love. Therefore, both species of action, 'valvinal' and 'melvinal', achieve the destruction of the selfish 'I'.

The author of this work was a great scholar and was well acquainted with the old literature. The general impact of a Tamil work like Tirukkuṛaḷ on the work of Meykaṇḍa Śāstra can be seen from the verses of this work.

This work takes up the Vedic Mahāvākya and tries to give a solution; they say 'that is this': 'I am that' (Śiva); 'You are that'; and 'I become that'; those who have realised the truth will not say these to mean a mere 'one' or 'two.' For, He, who destroys everything is one at that 'End.' He becomes two (Śiva and Śakti) at the time of creation and takes 'eight forms', referring to the world of intelligent souls and non-intelligent matter, and at the same time He is separate from and coexists with them.

The important contribution of this work is its illustration of the lives of *nāyanmārs*.

The tradition maintains that this work was not accepted by the scholars and so the

author places this work on the first step leading to the maṇḍapam (hall) of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram. The stone-elephant on one side of the step lifted its trunk and places this work at the feet of Lord Naṭarāja. And it was accepted by all and the work also got the name of 'Tirukkalīṟuppaḍiyār' meaning 'that which was placed on the step with an elephant.'

Though these two works existed Meykaṇḍār and both have been accepted as Siddhānta works, authors like Umāpati have not mentioned even their names. Perhaps what the author of 'Santānavaralāru' narrates is correct that this Uyyavanda Dēvanāyanār and the other Uyyavanda Dēvanāyanār (author of Tiruvundiyār) belonged to Viññāna Dēvar Santānam. This might have made authors like Umāpati not to mention these works along with the Siddhānta works of the Meykaṇḍadēvar Santānam, to which Umāpati belonged. Some one who came much later wrote a *reṇbā*, giving the names of these fourteen Śāstras now available.

Meykaṇḍār's Formulation

The tradition has this account to say that Meykaṇḍār was born of parents who were staunch devotees of Śiva and who had an indomitable faith in the *tirumurai*s, and he was named Śvētavanapperumāl. As the child had a remarkable spiritual growth Parañjoti munivar initiated the child and named it Meykaṇḍār, after his own Guru, Satyañānadarsanīgal. Meykaṇḍār preached Śaiva Siddhānta to his followers, of whom his father's own Guru, Sakalāgama Pandita, was one. He presents the philosophy of Śaiva Siddhānta in a most systematic manner in a work of incredible size and terseness. Śivañāna bōdam (Śivajñāna Bodham in Sanskrit) is a work of 12 *sūtras* with a brief commentary constituting 81 *venbas*.

Meykaṇḍār was born of the Grace of the Lord enshrined at Tiruveṅkāḍu (Śvētavanam in Sanskrit). In grateful acknowledgement of which the child was named Svētavanapperumāl. But according to the family tree he was called 'Ūṇḍaiya Perumālāna Eḍuttadu valiya vēlar.' This is found in the inscription found in the temple at Tiruvannāmala. This inscription is dated 1232 A.D.

The name Meykaṇḍār, it is obvious from the above reference to it is neither a personal name nor a title. What does it refer to? Why has the author of Śivañānabōdam come to be known to the posterity only by this name? Meykaṇḍār himself has included in the work, the Śivañānabōdam, illustrative verses and brief prose passages of commentary (*vārttikam*). These illustrations are in *venbā* meter. Of the eighty-one *Venbas*, six contain the expression Meykaṇḍān, sometimes used as a label for Śaiva Siddhānta and other times to mean realisation of the nature of Being (Sat), and at one place it is used as a descriptive label referring to 'one who has realised the truth' and the fifth and the sixth reference stand for 'one who has known the nature of that. The author was so fond of this expression 'Meykaṇḍān' and found it the most suitable to explain his exposition that he used that in many places and aptly too. This made the scholars call him, perhaps in the absence of any other proper name, Meykaṇḍār with affection and respect. This practice

of naming a poet with an endearing expression used in his poem was a common practice in the period of classical Tamil. There is a prefatory colophon to *Śivañānabōdam* written, perhaps, by Arulnandi Śivācāryar, the first disciple of Meykaṇḍār. For the grammar prescribes that only a few others, not definitely the author himself, can write the prefatory verse. In this prefatory colophon there is a clear mention of the name.

The name Meykaṇḍār is a descriptive proper name. It means 'one who has seen the truth.' Arulnandi clarifies it saying the 'one who has seen the false and avoiding it, perceived and persisted with the Truth.' Manavācakam Kaṇḍār, another disciple of Meykaṇḍār, also mentions thus. And it is Poet Tāyumānavar (17th century), who fully gives the actual meaning of the name 'Meykaṇḍār.' "Meykaṇḍār (one who has seen the Truth) for he has realised the meaning of the holy word 'advaitam' which the other false philosophers could not see." It can be said without any exaggeration that the contribution of Meykaṇḍār is the interpretation of this word 'advaitam', on which stands the whole edifice of the Siddhānta philosophy. To give a correct interpretation of this word he had to elaborate the stand-point of Siddhānta in a mutually consistent manner, and the result is the *Śivañānabōdam*, the first systematised work explaining the Siddhānta school.

The *Śivañānabōdam* contains twelve sūtras (aphorisms); The first six are 'general' and the rest 'specific'; the whole book is divided into four parts; each containing 3 sūtras; the first part, *Piramāṇa Iyal*, evidences through the aid of metaphysical reason the reality of Pati, Paśu and Paśa. The first sūtra states: The universe is composite for it can be particularised as he, she and it; and it undergoes three changes of Destruction, Reproduction, and Preservation, which calls for an author who can be no other than Śiva, the Supreme Lord. The material cause of the universe is Māyā from which the universe comes out and resolves into. The object of the changes is to liberate the intelligent beings from bondage (āṇava).

The second sūtra maintains that the Supreme Lord, in order to enable each unliberated soul to undergo deaths and births according to its Karma, aided by His Śakti (Grace helps the soul assume a non-dual relationship. That is of being one with Him, different from Him and of being coexistent with Him. He stands in inseparable union with His Śakti for the same purpose.

The third sūtra claims: The soul (paśu) is there separate from the body, which is formed out of Māyā. It is different from the five senses and sense organs, and also from the vital air, since there is neither consciousness nor movements during sleep. It is also different from Lord since its understanding is in proportion to its enlightenment from outside.

The second part, *Ilakkāṇa Iyal*, defines the three realities. The fourth sūtra speaks of the nature of soul (paśu). The soul is different from the internal senses also, although it is united to them as to the other senses and organs, being devoid of any understanding due to the beginning conjunction with āṇava mālam. These senses and organs serve the soul as ministers serve their king, and subject the soul to five different states of consciousness. The fifth sūtra states: These senses and organs possess limited consciousness,

and that too only when actuated by a soul. Even then they are not conscious of the soul actuating them. The same is the case with the soul's consciousness actuated by the Lord's Grace. The Lord is yet unchanging, as is a magnet causing changes in iron.

The sixth *sūtra* maintains: Whatever is comprehensible for limited understanding undergoes change. Whatever is incomprehensible for any understanding is non-existent. The Lord is neither. And hence the wise speak of Him as 'Śiva-Sat.'

The third part, *Sādhana Iya*, speaks of the spiritual means. The seventh *sūtra* speaks of the special features of Paśu. Śiva, the Sat, cannot enjoy anything, for everything in His presence is non-apparent; nor can The Asat Universe enjoy anything being non-intelligent. But the soul being neither can enjoy both.

The eighth *sūtra* claims: The soul having been brought up amidst physical senses and organs, misunderstands its innate nature. The Supreme Śiva, however, instructs such soul in its innate nature through a preceptor, and does so on its attaining the required state of fitness. The soul's misunderstanding having thus been got rid of, it at once seeks to attain the bliss of Śiva who stands in 'advaita' union with it.

The ninth *sūtra* states: The soul thus initiated in the use of the spiritual senses seeks with the aid of such senses to know the Lord not knowable either for the physical senses or for the intellect. To the soul so seeking the physical universe disappears with the swiftness of a mirage, and the sweet Lord presents Himself. The soul at this stage mentally recites the Pañcākṣara for enjoying the Lord's presence.

The fourth part, *Payan Iya*, speaks of the spiritual 'fruit.' The tenth *sūtra* says: The soul that has enjoyed the presence of the Lord next identifies itself with the Lord in the same way that the Lord identifies Himself with the initiated soul, and devotes itself to the service of the Lord. By such identification and devotion such soul becomes able to overcome the effects of the three *malas*, *Āṇava*, *Māyā* and *Karma*.

The eleventh *sūtra* claims: Just as the soul helps the eye to see and enable the soul to see, Lord Śiva helps the soul thus temporarily liberated by itself, Himself enjoying, and enabling the soul to enjoy His presence. This help produces in the soul an undying love for the Lord, which love eventually guides the soul to the Lord's Holy feet.

The twelfth *sūtra* states: The soul that seeks with unceasing love to reach the Lord Hara's Feet removes the obstruction thereto once for all by completely washing off the *Malas*. It then moves in the society of His devotees and worships equally the devotees and the temple.

There are scholars who believe that there is no internal evidence to show that Meykaṇḍār received instruction from Parañcōti munivar, as Meykaṇḍār does not in his preface say prayer to his guru, as his followers later on did. They are of the opinion that Śivañāna Bōdam was written by Meykaṇḍār in Tamil in the 13th century "when there was a social upheaval and religious turmoil in the Tamil Nadu, indicating among other things the culmination of the Tamilian genius in speculative philosophy."

It is strange to note that in the whole book of Śivañānabōdam we do not come across the name Śaiva Siddhānta, the system which this work expounds. The greatness of this work can be understood from a poem which says: "The Veda is the cow; the

Āgamas are its milk; the Tamil (Tēvāram and Tiruvāckam) of the four saints is the ghee churned out of the milk; the excellence of the well-instructive Tamil (Śivañāna bōdam) of Meykaṇḍār of Tiruveṇṇeyallūr, is like the fine taste of the ghee."

Meykaṇḍār himself has illustrated this work with examples and a commentary. There are many commentaries on the text, the earlier known being that of Pāṇḍippcerumāl. Śivañāna Munivar wrote two commentaries, one a short one (ciṭṭurai) and the other pērurai (Bhāṣya, which is known as Śivañāna Bhāṣyam or Dravida Mahābhāṣyam or simply Māpāḍiyam in Tamil).

There was a controversy sometime back whether Śivañānabōdam was an original Tamil work or a translation of the 'pāśamocana paṭhala' of the Rauravāgama. The scholars who supported the view that it was a translation quoted in their support the authority of Śivāgṛa Yogin, the commentator of Śivañāna Siddiyār—Supakkam and that of Sānskṛit Śivajñāna the Śivañānabodham and Śavañāna Munivar, the Tamil commentator of the Śivañānabōdam (Tamil) and the Pauṣkara Bhāṣyam of Umāpati Śivācāryar, in which references are made to Sānskṛit Śivajñānabodham. The other school tried to maintain that Śivañānabōdam was original Tamil work. The upholders of this view gave in their writings many reasons to prove their theory. The most important of them are: (1) Meykaṇḍār does not mention this anywhere it is a translation. (2) Nor did the authors of the other Meykaṇḍa Śāstra works who were contemporaneous to Meykaṇḍār or close to his time either as his disciples or the disciples of his disciples. (3) the Sanskrit version of the same, in the 12th sūtra, says, "thus says the Śivajñāna Bōdha." It is questioned whether a portion of a *paṭhala* in a *āgama* can have a separate heading like this and whether, therefore, it does not suggest that it is a rendering of the Tamil Śavañāna Bōdam. (4) Even before the advent of Meykaṇḍār, there were works like Nānāmīrdam, Tirumandiram, etc., which expounded this system, though not logically and fully as Meykaṇḍār did in his work, and the worship of Śiva had been there even before the Christian era and the hymns in Tamil speak of the greatness and Grace of Śiva and indirectly the tenets of this system.

Arulnandi, the direct disciple of Meykaṇḍār, wrote Śivañāna Siddiyār as a commentary in poetry on the Śivañānabōdam. There he mentions the spiritual lineage of instruction. There he gives the names of the perceptors and not any book. He was himself a great Sanskrit scholar and had earned the title of 'Sakalāgama Paṇḍita.' He would not have missed this, that Śivañānabōdam' was a Tamil rendering of a portion of the Rauravāgama, if it was so. And he would have had no hesitation to bring this to light, if it was so, for there was nothing wrong in translating an Āgama (or a portion of it). It would have been and honour and privilege to do so as the Āgamas were revealed by Śiva Himself (S.S.S. 267). And Umāpati Śivācārya, another preceptor in that line and the author of Śataratna Saṅgraha (Skt.) does not mention in any of his eight Tamil works that the Tamil Śivañānabōdam is a translation of the Sanskrit work of the same name. He mentions only the names of the works by his predecessors (SP. 11).

So it can safely be said that the Tamil Śivañānabōdam is only an original work and

that someone who wanted to introduce these ideas to the Sanskrit world might have translated it into Sanskrit and called it a portion of the *pāśamocana paṭhala* of the Rauravāgama, to give it a stamp of authority. And this might have gained currency before Śivāgra Yogin and he might have accepted it without questioning. And others might have followed Śivāgra Yogin.

25

Mukteśvara Temple

The Mukteśvara temple of Bhubaneśwar appears to be the earliest monument of the Somavamśi period. It is one of the most beautiful temples of India and has been described by M.M. Ganguly as "a dream realised in sand stone." Elegantly decorated from top to bottom, it stands within a gracefully laid out low compound wall with a beautiful *torana* in front of it. This temple also reveals some notable features both in architectural and in the attributes of the cult images. In the cult images, we find here a rat used as the mount of Gaṇeśa, a peacock associated with Kārttikeya, babies carried in arms of Sapta-mātrikas and Ketu among the planets. R.D. Banerji thinks that at Bhubaneśwar the Mukteśvara was the immediate successor of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Like early temples, it is a small monument rising ■ a high of 34 feet although the Mukteśvara possess architectural and sculptural affinities with Brahmeśvara. (C. A.D. 1060). In point of chronology the Mukteśvara is earlier than the Brahmeśvara. Percy Brown puts the date A.D. 950 as the year of the construction of Mukteśvara temple. No *torana* is to be found in any of the existing temples at Bhubaneśwar, except in the Mukteśvara temple. The remains of this *torana* alongwith some of its other parts are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. The abrupt changes in the early forms of cult images, in the architectural designs and even in the details of the sculptural representations indicates that the builder of the Mukteśvara was the harbinger of a new culture.

The *Vimāna* square in plan, stands on a raised platform and has five *pagas* or pilasters on the each facade. The Śikhara is short, and it has four Natarājas and the four Kirttimukhas on four faces. The top portion of the Śikhara has the usual crowning members. Just in front of the door of the *Jagamohana* stands the beautiful *torana*. These are some of the main architectural arrangements of this miniature gem of Orissan Architecture.

On the body of *Jagamohan* we find the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā carved side by side of Chanda and Prachanda. On its lintel occurs of four armed male deity, perhaps the figure of Lākuliśa, seated in *Bhūmisparsa-mudrā* and holding a *Lākuta*. The figures of Gaja-Lakṣmī, Ketu and Rāhu are also marked on the *Jagamohana* of the temple.

A few cult images also occur on the outer wall of the temple and on the *Jagamohan*, but all of them are found in miniature forms. Numerous among these miniature images are those of Lākuliśa found all over the body of the temple. They are usually found within

ornamented Chaitya arches, showing various *mudrās* such as Yoga, *Bhūmiśparśa* and *Vyākhyāna* with *Yogapattas* tied to their knees. They are accompanied by the figures of their disciples, as in the Lākṣmī images of the earlier temples.

26

Nandikeśvara's Advaita Śaivism

Nandikeśvara

The available material on this system, is very scanty. We have just one small work, consisting of twenty-six verses and a brief commentary on it, to which we have referred earlier. But it is a very important work inasmuch as it states the fundamentals of the monistic Śaiva Philosophy, as incorporated in the first fourteen aphorism of Pāṇini's grammar, according to the interpretation of Nandikeśvara.

At the end of each of these fourteen aphorism there is a consonant. Nandikeśvara holds that such a consonant stands for a predicate, exactly as Pāṇini holds that it is for the formation of a technical term such as "An" (Pratyāhāra).

The Importance of Nandikeśvara Śaivism : If we accept the view that Nandikeśvara was a contemporary of Pāṇini, because of the persisting tradition and indirect reference to his view by Patañjali, the system, presented by Nandikeśvara, is very important indeed. For, it is then the earliest voluntaristic Philosophy, which was subsequently developed by Lakulīśa in his Pāśupata Sūtra, in the light of Dualism-cum-non-dualism, and by the thinkers of Kashmir, such as Somānanda, Kallāṭa, Utpala, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja etc., in the light of monism. In fact, the very brief statements about the philosophical principles in the Nandikeśvara Kāśikā, have meaning, only when they are studied in the light of what Kashmir thinkers have said on allied topics?

The fact that the system, presented by Nandikeśvara, is very similar to, if not identical with what is now known as Monistic Kashmir Śaivism, becomes evident if we compare the benedictory verse at the beginning of the Spanda Kārikā with the one at the beginning of the commentary by Upamanyu on the Nandikeśvara Kāśikā. These two verses not only present the same philosophic thought but also present it in almost identical expressions.

Yasyonmeṣanīmeṣābhyām Jagataḥ pralayodayau.
Yasyonmeṣanīmeṣābhyām Vyaktāvyaktam idam jagat.

The Main Tendencies of the System

(1) Nandikeśvara Śaivism has mystic tendency. This tendency may be said to be predominant. For, the circumstances, which were responsible for coming to light of this system, were mystic. The sages practised austerity for mystic light. As an act of grace to them, Śiva appeared mystically and taught them that the Reality is beyond all categories; that it is the self, the "I" or "Aham", the all-transcending; that it is all-graceful, the Grace being to it what body is to soul; and that it is the transcendental witness of everything.

Here we find three fundamentals of mysticism: (1) the Reality as it is finally realised; the final and everlasting experience that a mystic aims at attaining through mystic life and practices; (2) the Reality as it appears to a mystic in a mystic vision; and (3) the faith, with which and in which a mystic lives. The all-transcending nature of the mystic Reality, the appearance of this Reality in a mystic form in a mystic vision and faith in His Grace are the fundamental pre-suppositions of mysticism.

(2) We also find the voluntaristic tendency in Nandikeśvara Śaivism in the context of its metaphysics. Every mystic system has its metaphysical theory also. But the Reality as it is presented in the context of mysticism is generally slightly different from the Reality as it is postulated in the metaphysical context. The former is beyond all categories and, therefore, is indefinable unless we take the indefinability itself to be a definition. The latter, however, is spoken of as cause, source or manifestor of everything. But the mystic Reality is not essentially different from the metaphysical. For, the Ultimate is admitted to be both transcendental and immanent.

Plotinus, for instance, on the one hand, speaks of the One as so transcendent that is beyond the reach of mind and speech; it cannot be presented even in terms of the highest category; it is realisable only in mystic ecstasy. On the other hand, he represents the One as the source and goal of everything, from whom all oppositions and diversities emanate.

Similarly Nandikeśvara also, in the course of his interpretation of the first aphorism of the Māheśvara Sūtras, speaks of the metaphysical Reality, which is identified with the first letter "A", as Brāhman, which is free from all guṇas, is present in everything and in all forms of speech, Paśyanti, etc. and is the source or origin, not only of all letters, but also of the entire universe, including many different worlds. This Brāhman becomes or manifests itself as the Universe through its power, technically called "Citkalā" or "cit-śakti", and, therefore, is called "Īśvara". The letter "I" and "U" in the aphorism signify the "Power" (Citkalā) and the "Lord" respectively.

There is an interesting point, worth noting in the commentary on the verse, No. 3, on which the statement, made in the preceding paragraph, is based.

The word "Citkalā" is interpreted as "Māyā." It has, therefore, to be made clear here that the word "Māyā" in this context does not have the meaning that it has in the Vedānta Philosophy, i.e., the principle of ignorance and illusion, which cannot be presented as either "being" or "not-being." For, in the system of Nandikeśvara, there is no such category as Māyā, distinct from Śakti, as in other Śaiva systems. No doubt it admits

thirty-six categories, but they are slightly different from those of other Śaiva systems, as we shall show. The question, therefore, arises, what does "Māyā" mean? And the answer is that it means what Vimarśa means in the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir. It means "Free Will" (Svātantrya). For, this system admits that the universe owes its being to His will.

That the word "Citakalā", which is interpreted as "Māyā" by the commentators, means what is stated above is borne out by another fact? That is, Nandikeśvara talks of "A" the Brāhman, as "Prakāśa", as distinct from "I", the Citkalā, and also of the inseparable relation between the two. The principle, represented by "I", is said to be the cause, insofar as it is 'the potentiality' the power the Śakti, to which everything owes its being. But 'Śakti' is so only in relation of Śiva, Brāhman, Prakāśa or "A". And we know that the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir, which talks of the first category as "Prakāśa" and of the second as "Vimarśa", uses the words "Citi" and "svātantrya" as synonymous with Vimarśa. The word "Citakalā", therefore, seems to mean Vimarśa or free Will.

Nandikeśvara himself uses the word "Māyā", in the sense of "Manovṛtti", the activity of the mind, manifested by the Lord, and the relation of this with the Lord is spoken of as the same (Samāśritya) as that which He has with Citkalā in bringing the universe into being. It may be pointed out here that in this context the commentator uses the words "Māyā", "I" and "Citkalā" as synonymous; and that Nandikeśvara himself propounds the voluntaristic world-view and presents it in almost the same words as those used by Kṣemarāja in his Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya, as has been stated in the Historical section. Therefore, there is little doubt about the synonymity of Citkalā with Svātantrya and about the voluntaristic tendency of the system of Nandikeśvara.

Monism of Nandikeśvara

We have talked of the relation between Brāhman and Śakti or Citkalā. Does not the admission of the two ultimate metaphysical principles mean Dualism? The reply to this question is given in the course of the interpretation of the second aphorism "RĪK." The Brahman is the Mind. And the Māyā is the activity, which it manifests. The Brāhman, being active, being in relation with its activity, which is its own outflow, brings the world into being. The active has no being in isolation from the activity. The two are inseparable, much as are the Moon and her rays, or a word and its meaning.

Nandikeśvara seems to advocate the type of monism which is the characteristic of the Philosophy of Grammar. He identifies the Brāhman, the "A", with Parā, as presented by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, under the influence of the Śaivāgama. He talks of Parā as pure Jñapti, or sentience (Jñaptimātra). The word Jñapti seems to be used as a synonym of "Citi." For, Patañjali, a near successor of Nandikeśvara, in his Yogasūtra, in presenting the self, uses the words "Citi" and "Dṛṣṭi", in stating its essential nature. And Utpala and Abhinavagupta have interpreted it to show that Patañjali's conception of the Self is the same as that of monistic Kashmir Śaivism and that it implies voluntarism.

If we accept this view, namely, that 'Jñapti' stands for "Citi" and presents the essential nature of the Self, the word "Citkala", the meaning of which we tried to settle earlier,

gets a significance, which explains the use of the analogy of the Moon and her rays to bring out non-difference between Brāhman and Citkalā. If Brāhman or Self is 'Citi', the power of Brāhman, which is responsible for the being of the whole universe, is spoken of as 'Citkalā', because it is an aspect of Brāhman and, therefore, non-different from it, exactly as the ray of the Moon is an aspect of her and is non-different from her.

The monistic view, presented on the basis of aphorism "RLK", implies that the relation between Brāhman and its power is the same as between R and L. We know that, according to the grammarian, there is the relation of identity between the two, R and L, similar to that between one "A" and another (RL varṇayormithaḥ sāvamyam vācyam). Nandikeśvara Śaivism, therefore, is a monistic system, because it admits the identity of the mind and its potentiality and activity, of Śiva and Śakti, or Brāhman and Citkalā.

The Theory of Manifestation : The relation between the Brāhman and the universe is not that of the creator and the created. The world does not exist apart from the Brāhman as does a jar from a potter, who makes it. It is, on the contrary, like that of thought and the thinking subject. The world is nothing but the thought of Brāhman. It is external manifestation of what is potentially within. It is essentially identical with Brāhman, much as thought is with the thinking subject. Similarly the transcendental Reality (Nirguṇa) and the Immanent (Saguṇa) are identical. For, the latter is a manifestation of the former. All the categories are the manifestations of the Brāhman.

27

Njānamṛtam

Njānamṛtam is an important Śaiva Siddhānta text giving the main ideas of the knowledge section of the Śaivagamas. It was composed by Vagģisa Munivar earlier than the *Śivanjāna Bodham*. *Śivanjāna Bodham* is the important treatise explaining the salient features of the Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy and was composed in the thirteenth century. We may compare *njānamṛtam* and *Śivanjāna Bodham* in order that we may find the place of *njānamṛtam* in the field of Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy.

Śivanjāna Bodham is considered to deal with the nature of the three entities God, man and world or bondage not only with respect to the state of bondage but also with respect to the state of release. All the materials which we have seen to be elaborately dealt with in the *Śivanjāna Bodham* and its secondaries have been with respect of the state of release. But with respect to the state of bondage, *Śivanjāna Bodham* deals briefly with the leading thoughts expecting the disciple to supply the missing links. These links are supplied by *Njānamṛtam*.

The first six verses of *Śivanjāna Bodham* deal with the nature of the eternal varieties as seen by man from the standpoint of his state of bondage. Here we may assume that Meykanhdaar gives only the leading thoughts and the main ideas that are to be borne in mind while studying the system of Philosophy. He simply throws here and there some unambiguous terms or expressions which suggest a world of organised theories and conventions. For example, in the first verse Meykanhdaar refers to the seen world by the term *titi* (entity). This term implies what is called *satkaarya vaada* which is dealt with in the Saangklya system. Meykanhdaar expects the disciple to understand the whole theory of *satkaarya vaada* and to proceed further in the path of wisdom chalked out by him. Here *njānamṛtam* lends a helping hand for an earnest student of *Śivanjāna Bodham*. *Satkaarya vaada* has been taken up and logically developed and treated in stanza twentytwo.

In the fact commentator *Śivanjāna* munivar actually refers to the stanza quoted above while explaining the implications of the term *titi* used by *Meykanhdaar* which is further expanded by him in the expression '*illada Tkut too Tminmayin* (as there is no appearance for a thing which is non-existent).

Another instance illustrating this view is how Meykanhbaar suggests the cogent argument in establishing the existence of the Supreme being for the various activities of

the phenomenal world. His idea is that all inert things are to be actuated by an intelligent being; that intelligent being cannot be one of the fettered souls, for they are no better than mud pot for their activities, as they are chained by the principles of bondage and are dependent. Even the souls that have got release should have required the assistance or help of a soul that has already been released. Hence, pressing the question to its logical conclusion, the conscious being that has to move both the sentient and non-sentient worldly things should be naturally freed from fetters, having the qualities of Omniscience, omnipotence etc. These ideas are cogently expressed in stanza 58 of *njaaNamrtam*. In fact SivanjaaNa munivar takes up this stanza and from the ideas expressed in it, he able to supply the missing links in the first *suutra*.

Meykanhdaar takes up the question of the re-organisation of the expanded universe and posits that the activity should have been infused by the Supreme Being in accordance with merits and demerits that had been performed by the individual selves in their previous births. Inasmuch as the Supreme Being is different from the souls and the material world in substance, it should have some kind of relation with them in order to make them move.

Here he solves the question by introducing two ideas that have been found expressed in the concluding portions of the Vedas. The first idea is about the concept of relationship denoted by the term '*advitīyam*.' The term according to Meykanhdaar means inseparable, *not two*; it does not mean no two. He further expands the meaning of the term in the following form: the Supreme Being is one with the individual souls, different from it in substance and is together with it in as much as the individual souls are enabled to know and act. The oneness with the souls is compared to the relation between the individual and its embodiment. The next point is that a principle which has control over another principle should have potential difference in itself. Otherwise it cannot pervade the other thing so as to activate it. He expresses this potential difference as being contained in the concept of *Sakti* which is inseparable from Śiva.

It is something like light or heat energy, and the Sun is not different from that energy. While expanding these ideas and meeting the objections that may be raised by other schools of thought, Meykanhdaar leaves many a thing that has to be given in respect of the two deeds, merits and demerits. For example one should like to know the merits and demerits pertaining to the thought, speech and action of a person. These things are explicitly and elaborately supplied by *njaaNamrtam*. In fact *njaaNamrtam* deals with the nature of deeds or *karma* in stanzas 23, 24 and 25. Some of them have been quoted by SivanjaaNa munivar. The sources through which the deeds come to fruition namely *aadhidaivakam*, *aadhibhautikam* and *aadhiaatmikam* are also explained in *njaaNamrtam*.

While explaining the three causal states of consciousness and the five effective states in each of them, Meykanhdaar is suggestive and deals with them in the fourth, fifth and the sixth *suutras* respectively. But in the matter of comparison that he uses with respect to the five effective states of consciousness in the casual state of *sakala*, Meykanhdaar speaks of the four internal organs (*antahkaranhas*) as the ministers of the individual self. *NjaaNamrtam* has already taken up the comparison and compared the

sense organs, the motor organs, the various kinds of airs and other things in an elaborate manner. ŚivanjāaNa Munivar supplies these ideas to the scholar quoting *njāaNamrtam*.

NjāaNamrtam commences by saying that the very essence of the *Sivagamas* which is produced by the churning of the scriptures with the help of the reasoning mind as the churner, is to be given by the work. Of course the guidance given by the spiritual master forms part of the accessories in the act of churning. Hence one should expect a complete treatment of the philosophical idea in an organised form from the study of the work. We may go to the extent to saying that the work gives in a nutshell all the ideas that are contained in the *inana* section of the Āgamas. Accordingly the work proceeds by stating that the purport of all the scriptures consists in giving the nature of the three entities *pasu*, *paasa* and *pati* (the soul, the principles of the bondage and the divinity that redeems the soul). The work closely observes the order in which these entities have been mentioned at first. The mention of the subjects to be treated in the work is called *uttesa* as per the requirements of the *Nyaya darsana*. In fact ŚivanjāaNa Munivar in his *Sivanjaana Bhashtyam* takes the very first utterance of the work '*pasu pasathodu pati yai petti*', in the second sutra.

When he discusses the principles that are observed in sequence, the logical portions of the subject such as *satkaarya vaada*, the means of knowing, the existence of the soul and of the Supreme Being etc., are discussed in great detail. But towards the end of the work the author does not go into the details of the means of illumination and the various aspects of the results of illumination. Of course the work deals with the release of the three principles of the bondage namely *maaya*, *karma* and *anahata*. By concentrating one's attention on the ephemeral nature of the embodiment and the impurity and also the sufferings caused by it one can become averse towards the worldly life. One can get rid of the bondage of *karma* if one gives up the egoistic tendencies of 'I' and 'mine.' The spiritual darkness which is called *aanahata* is got rid of by having the divine illumination which brings one face to face with the Supreme Being. As for how the divine illumination dawns upon the purified soul, the work mentions the steps by which the spiritual master lifts the soul along the ladder like steps of the evolutes of *maaya*. This is what happens in the initiation of wisdom which is called *nirvaanha diiksa*? Here the student is left to think whether the author lays more stress on the ceremony of initiation rather than on the acquisition of spiritual wisdom.

Authors of Śaiva Siddhānta differ in this respect. Of the two things the initiation and the acquisition of the spiritual wisdom one is considered to be the main thing (*angi*) and the other as the accessory (*angas*). The terms '*angam*' and '*angi*' are used in the sense in which the *Mimamsa* system uses them. Most of the scholars who are well-versed in the *Agamic* lore, take the act of initiation (*nirvaanha diiksa*) as *angi* and the divine wisdom as *anga*. But the *Meykanthā Sastras* lay stress on the divine wisdom and accordingly call it *angi* and ascribe the place of *anga* only to the Lord and the spiritual wisdom is the result of the operation of the cognitive potency of the Lord which is called the light of grace. In this respect we are led to conjecture though not with certainty that the author belongs to the class of thinkers who ascribe a prominent position to the ceremony of initiation for we

miss many points with respect to the divine illumination which we are able to see in the later works on Śaiva Siddhānta.

Meykanhda Saastras not only deal with the subject of divine illumination but also analyse the results of such illumination into *paasa ksaya* and the attainment of *sivahood*? Meykanhdaar gives in the tenth stanza how the soul by identifying itself with the divine grace and acting as per the will of God, dispels the spiritual darkness and also becomes free from the taints of *māyā* and *karma*. He logically puts it that by identifying with the light of grace the soul gets free from the sense of 'I' and 'mine' and thus transcends the reach of the evil tendency of the spiritual darkness *aanhara mala*. Again by acting according to the will of God the soul gets free from the fetters of *karma* and *māyā*.

In the eleventh verse, the subject of attainment of Śivahood or the experience of consciousness-bliss is explained. The illumined soul realises the existence of the Supreme Being by immediate knowledge and knows how the supreme Being is the source for the activities and even for the consciousness of the souls. The eye of man cannot apprehend and grasp the visual impression that it receives from the external world without the aid and impulsion of the individual self. So also the individual self cannot objectify the external world without being aided and impelled by the Supreme Being. This help of the Supreme Being is not only limited to the worldly life when the soul is in bondage but also continues even in the state of release. There the Supreme Being turns the consciousness potency of the individual self towards itself and enables it too identify itself with the Supreme. The released soul being conscious of this external help rendered by the Supreme Being is activated by its affective nature and has the transcendental love for the Supreme Being. This love unites the individual self to the blissful aspect of the Supreme which is generally spoken of as the feet of God.

In the above explanation we come across the expressions of consciousness, love and adherence of the released soul. These are the qualities of the pure individual self. Thus in the state of release which is called *paramukti* the soul attains its purity and shines in its own splendour of consciousness, love and attachment which qualities make it identify with the Supreme Being and experience the everlasting bliss of the Supreme Being. This is how Meykanhdaar explains the spiritual experience of everlasting bliss? ŚivanjaaNa Munivar the meaning of experience. One of the works in Sanskrit by name *Bhoga Kaarika* also gives the same explanation. In all experiences the qualities which are external to the individual self become reflected on the individual self. In the worldly experience of pleasure, the evolute called *buddhi* gets modified into the form of *sattva gunha*. The individual self becomes conscious of this *buddhi* and the *sattva gunha* becomes manifest in the individual self when it identifies itself with the modifications of *buddhi*. This is in our parlance the experience of worldly pleasure.

As per Śaiva Siddhānta, God has eight spiritual qualities. The released soul identifies itself with the Supreme Being and these eight spiritual qualities become reflected in the individual self. This conscious steeping in of the released self in the divine qualities is the blissful experience which is the end and aim of all human aspiration. Thus there is a parallelism in the psychological explanation of the worldly pleasure and the

heavenly pleasure experienced by the individual self in the state of bondage and in the state of release respectively. This kind of detailed explanation is withheld by *njaaNamrtam* so that the inquisitive student is required to approach the special works like *Sivanjñāna Bodham*, and *Sivanjñāna Siddhiṃ*, and *Bhogakaarika* and *Moksakaarika*—two treatises in the group of the Sanskrit Ashta Prakarana. As *njaaNamrtam* throws important light on some aspects of the state of bondage, it may be considered to be a supplement to *Sivanjñāna Bodham* in respect of the ideas that have been dealt with from the stand-point of the state of bondage.

28

Padmanabhapuram: Neelakantaswamy Temple

About ten kilometres from Nagercoil, the capital of Kanyakumari district is located the historic town of Padmanabhapuram. Referred to as Kalkulam in the ancient inscriptions, this place was the capital of the rulers of Venad. In 1744 King Marthanda Varma renamed his kingdom as Travancore. He also shifted his headquarters to Trivandrum. As a very ardent devotee of Lord Padmanabha of Trivandram, he dedicated his kingdom to the Lord. This noble act earned for him the sobriquet 'Padmanabhadasa.' It was probably to commemorate this event that Kalkulam was renamed Padmanabhapuram. This place has, besides the magnificent fort, two ancient temples dedicated to Sri Ramaswamy and to Sri Neelakantaswamy.

Ramaswamy Temple

There are very few temples of Kerala which are dedicated to Sri Rama. Ramaswamy temple is situated to the north-east of the Fort. The present structure of the temple was constructed about 200 years back by Marthanda Varma. It is a typical specimen of Kerala architecture. The *dwajasthambam* which stands in front of the temple is regarded as the tallest in the whole of Kanyakumari district. The triangular roof is covered with a mat made of Palmyra leaves. A very small *mantapam* located near the *dwajasthambam* houses the *balipeetam*. In the outer *prakaram* there is a small shrine for Vinayaka.

The grand *mantapam* has a roof made of wooden planks. On all the four sides of this *mantapam*, the whole episode of Ramayana is engraved in wood. All the incidents from the Puthrakameshti Yajna to the Mahapattabishekam are rendered in wood in 45 panels. This marvellous and intricate workmanship is reminiscent of a very high level of culture attained by our ancestors. Every lover of art should endeavour to visit this place at least once to have a glimpse of this treasure-house. The inner *prakaram* is adorned by about 4,000 lamps which, when lit will present a glorious sight.

In 1680 the Mughal forces launched upon an expedition to loot Travancore.

Umayammai, the Queen of Travancore sought succour from Kerala Varma; the ruler of Northern Kottayam. Kerala Varma chivalrously condescended to assist her to tide over the crisis. Before taking the battle, he offered worship to Lord Adikesava Perumal of Tiruvattar. The battle was well contested, when all of a sudden arrows began to pour in torrents upon the Mughals from an unknown direction. The horror-stricken Mughal forces ran pellmell. Most of them were engulfed in a vortex of annihilation. The astonished King wondered who the unseen benefactor was. Ultimately Rama appeared before him. Later Sri Rama appearing in his dream, enjoined Kerala Varma to build a temple. In accordance with the indications given by Sri Rama, Kerala Varma located this idol at a spot on the north eastern part of Padmanabhapuram, where a cow was relaxing and a calf was grazing the pasture. The forest was denuded of its trees and a temple was constructed for Sri Rama.

The figure of Sri Rama, holding the bow and arrows is majestic. To his left stands Sita while Lakshmana and Anjaneya are on his right side. One of the arms of Sri Rama was damaged during the Mughal invasion and so it has been covered with gold. The Panchaloka images are remarkable pieces of sculpture. Sri Rama has a serene countenance; He seems to look at Anjaneya with a great deal of affection. Anjaneya is regarded as a powerful deity, with miraculous powers. A silver vahanam of Hanuman is found near the Sri Koil.

Although the temple is under the control of the Hindu Religious Endowments Department of Tamilnadu, the customs that existed before continue to be practiced. The day to day *poojas* are performed by Malayalee-Brahmins. However, during festival times the Utsavar (festival image of the Lord) is not carried on elephants, as is the custom in other Kerala Temples. The Utsavar is carried in a vahanam by the archakas themselves. Among the festivals celebrated here Sri Rama Navami, Tiruvonam and Vaikunta Ekadasi are worth mentioning. All Tuesdays of the Malayalam month of Kanni (September-October) are considered auspicious. On those days a number of devotees throng this place for worship. The annual festival held in the months March-April (Malayalam month of Meenam) commences on the day of the Revathi star and consummates with the holy Immersion ceremony on the Punarvasu day.

Neelakantaswamy Temple

A few centuries ago a sage called Neelakantaswamy lived near padmanabhapuram. He was performing a severe penance during his last days. One day he suddenly attained a state of Samadhi. The people of the neighbourhood had held the sage in high esteem. As a mark of reverence they installed a *lingam* over his grave. This *lingam* came to be called Admimoola Swamy. A separate shrine was erected to house the *lingam*.

A few years later a servant-maid, entrusted with the work of cleaning the shrine, kept an earthen pot near the shrine and went out to attend to her personal work. On return, she was perplexed to find that the pot could not be moved. An attempt to remove the pot forcibly ended in fiasco and the pot broke. To her consternation, she noted that blood

flowed out of the pot. The villagers were non-plussed when they came know of the incident.

Consultation with an astrologer revealed the presence of a linga at the spot. As instructed by the astrologers, a temple was erected and worship was initiated. The Swayambu *lingam* (a lingam which comes into existence on its own accord and not erected by human beings) came too be known as Neelakantaswamy. Although there is no connection between sage Neelakantaswamy and this temple, the people gave his name to the Lord as a mark of respect for the sage.

The origin of this temple is shrouded in the obscurity. Lord Parasurama, who had taken a vow to exterminate the Kshatriyas ultimately decided to call it a day and unsheated his sword. After having constructed a temple at Vardhanapuram, he handed over his sword to prince Banu Vikrama, a scion of the Soma Vamsa. The Kshatriya Prince was ordained to rule over Kerala with his headquarters at Vardhanapuram. Historians opine that this Vardhanapuram was the nucleus of the present day Padmanabhapuram. The earliest available inscription is dated 1337 A.D. (Qutlon era 412). The badly mutilated inscription in Vattalethu characters refer to the reforms of Ravi Varma, the ruler of Venad. The ruler had plugged certain loopholes in the administrative machinery of the temple and had streamlined its financial structure. An inscription dated 1578 A.D. (Qutlon era 653) states that the inner Prakaram of Kalkulam Mahadevar Temple was laid with stoneslabs.

The temple with its huge tank in front, presents a picturesque view. A graceful five-tiered tower, built in the Dravidian style of architecture, adorns the entrance. It is a rare feature in Kanyakumari district. The outer *prakaram* has small *sannidhis* for Vinayakar and Sastha. The imposing figures of Karna, Arjuna, Venugopala and Kankalanatha occupy the pillars of the inner *mantapam*. The sublime beauty and the graceful features of these have to be seen to be believed. Natarajar is accommodated in a separate *mantapam* inside the temple. Rettai Pillayar and Chandikeswara are the other *upadevas* worth mentioning. Regular *poojas* are performed at the shrine of Adhimoolaswamy.

King Marthanda Varma, who was a true devotee of Goddess Meenakshi of Madurai, used to undertake frequent trips to Madurai to offer his obeisance. He cherished a desire to construct a temple for the Goddess within the fort. One night, the Goddess instructed him in his dream to locate her idol at a spot near Thuckalay and to construct a temple for her. She also enjoined Tirumalai Nayak, the ruler of Madurai to assist Marthanda Varma in the installation of her idol. Accordingly, Marthanda Varma traced the idol at the appropriate place. He was surprised to find that it was an exact replica of Goddess Meenakshi of Madurai. The bewitching charm of the image induced him to name her 'Anandavalli'. The pillars of the Mantapam contain the figures of two rulers who seem to gaze at the Goddess. The images have been identified as those of Marthanda Varma and Tirumalai Nayak.

A considerable portion of this temple including the Mantapams and the tower were renovated by the later rulers. The celebration of the annual Rathotsavam and the

Float festival here bear ample testimony to the Chōla influence. Among the important festivals celebrated here, Navarathiri, Tirukalyanam and Panguni Festival (ten days) deserve to be mentioned. Navarathiri festival celebrated in Punuttasi culminates with the Teppotsavam on the Vijayadasami day. A retinue of the Travancore rulers used to celebrate the Margazhi Tiruvadirai festival in a grand manner. Once in twelve years the Moolavar is anointed with ghee on the Mahasivarathri day. The ceremony known as Grithadhara takes place for one full day.

Originally the day to day rituals were conducted in conformity with the custom and pattern of the temples of Tamilnad. When the temple came under the control of the rulers of Travancore, the practice as followed in Kerala temples came into vogue. At present the temple is controlled by the Hindu Religious Endowment Board of Tamilnad. The *poojas* are performed four times a day by Kerala Brāhmins. All Tuesdays in the month of Adi are considered auspicious here.

The historic fort of Padmanabhapuram covers an area of 21/2 miles. The majestic palace built by the rulers of Venad is a place worth visiting. Within the fort are located a Saraswathi temple and Alamparai Bhagavathi Amman Temple. The festival image of Sarasvathi is taken in a procession of Goddess Bhagavathi. The twelve famous Śiva Temples of Kanyakumari district are situated around Padmanabhapuram.

Thus Padmanabhapuram serves not only as a historic town but also as a pilgrim centre. The place can be reached by buses from Nagercoil, Thuckalay and Trivandrum.

Pañchāyatana Śiva *Linga* at Patna

Dr. J.N. Banerjea, one of the greatest authorities of this time on Hindu Iconography, illustrated on plate XLVI, of his highly renowned book, '*The Development of Hindu Iconography*' (Second Edition, Calcutta, 1956), a Pañchāyatana Śiva *Linga* originally from some part of Bihar (the exact find-spot being not mentioned). On the work, he writes, 'a Pañchāyatana Śiva-Linga' originally found in a part of Bihar and now in the collection of the Indian Museum, which is being illustrated here, characterises in a very interesting manner the religious belief of a medieval Śaiva of Eastern India belonging to the order of the Smārta. It is inaccurately described in the Museum records as Chaturmukha Śiva *Linga*, but really shows the four cult deities Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya on the four sides of the central Śaiva emblem, all of which taken together symbolise the five Brahmanical Hindu cults.'

Dr. Banerjea has not furnished a detailed description of the sculpture, not even the iconographic peculiarities of the cult deities have been discussed simply besides mentioning that 'it shows the four cult deities, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu Pārvatī and Sūrya on the four sides of the Śaiva emblem.' Moreover, the illustration on plate XLVI shows only two of the four sides of the sculpture bringing into view only Gaṇapati and Viṣṇu. One cannot have, therefore, the exact idea of the figures of the other two cult deities, Pārvatī and Sūrya from the illustration.

In course of my visit of the Śaiva temple on the bank of the Ganges at the Adalat Ghat of Patna in January last, I chanced to come across another Pañchāyatana type of Śiva *Linga* fixed in a shrine erroneously named as '*Śitalā-Devī-kā-Mandir*' (Temple of Goddess Śitalā). The shrine is a modern rectangular structure facing to the north with a small stunted *Śikhara* over it. A stele of the Pāla period in black basalt fixed in the rear wall of the shrine facing towards the entrance door way on the north, almost covered with a curtain of red colour hanging in front of it, curiously enough described as the image of Śitalā Devī, does not even show a female figure, but a male Buddhist divinity, which can unhesitatingly be identified as the figure of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, displaying the attitude of protection (*abhaya mudrā*) by his somewhat upraised right hand and holding the long stalk of lotus flowers by his left, held low and placed on the thigh, with a kneeling devotee in *añjali-mudrā* on the proper right side of the Bodhisattva. The figure of the

considerably defaced Dhyāni Buddha, the sire of the divinity, can be noticed on the Tiara of Avalokiteśvara.

Somewhat very close to the eastern and the southern walls of the shrine chamber is fixed on the floor the Pañchāyatana Śiva Liṅga with the four cult divinities on the four sides of the central Śaiva emblem. On account of extreme smallness of the shrine chamber and also on account of close proximity of the sculpture to the walls, it is rather an impossibility to have all the four sides photographed. Only one of the sides, facing towards the entrance doorway on the north, could be photographed which exhibits the figure of Gaṇeśa on this side and that of Viṣṇu in profile on the right. On the other side of the central piece, facing towards the west, the latter can be seen but not photographed. On account of extreme closeness of the sculpture to the eastern and the southern walls of the shrine, it was with considerable difficulty with the aid of a mirror and a torch-light that it could be possible to have the iconographic features of Pārvatī and Sūrya studied. Thus, like the Pañchāyatana Śiva Liṅga of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the Pañchāyatana Śiva Liṅga of the Adalat Chat shrine also exhibits the figures of the four cult deities, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya on the four sides of the central Śaiva emblem.

The Śiva Liṅga, measuring 2 feet and 1.5 in. in height and 4 feet and 0.5 in. in circumference at the base, has been made out of black basalt, and stylistically it can be dated during the Pāla period in the 10th-11th cen. A.D. It has been chamfered on four sides, each of them presenting an appearance of a stele, while its crown providing almost a circular space is formed like the Yoni pedestal in the centre of which is an extremely mutilated figure of a bull, Śiva' *vr̥ṣabha*. On the side facing towards the entrance doorway on the north appears the figure of Gaṇapati who is four armed and represented as dancing on the *pañcharatha* pedestal. The pot-bellied god of wisdom, with his right leg planted on the pedestal and the left one slightly raised, both somewhat distended sideways as if in the act of dancing, has been very impressively carved. The four armed god is having his front right hand in what is known as the *danda-hasta* pose drawn across his belly in order to accentuate the dance performed by him, while he is having the pot of sweet balls by his front left hand to which the proboscis of the gracefully curved trunk has been applied, suggesting thereby that even when he was dancing he did not forget his favourite 'modakas.' In his back right hand, he is shown holding a raddish (*mālaka*), commonly found held in the hand of his medieval representations, while the object in his back left hand held similarly hanging is not clear, though it also appears something like a ball of sweet-meat.

To justify his name of 'Ekadanta' the deity is provided only with his right tusk, the left one being broken in allusion to the Paurāṇic story that out of his wrath he hit at the Moon God by plucking his left tusk and hurling it with a great force towards him. His fan-shaped ears are prominently shown with all the important nerves and tissues clearly brought out. His coiffure arranged tastefully into a *jatā* has been decorated with an ornament of three strings and adorned with the crescent (*ardha-chandra*). His drapery gathered into folds in between the two legs is secured in position by a double-stringed waist girdle having rope design. Slightly below the waist, enclosing the hip, is the snake girdle with the snakehood raised near the left thigh. Other ornaments include the

necklace, armlets, wristlets, leg ornaments and sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). The figure of Gaṇapati has thus been carved with consummate skill, the artist having succeeded in his mission of portraying the bulky elephant-headed god actually performing the dance, not the vigorous *tāṇḍava-nṛtta* of Śiva, but dancing lightly like the Bhairava of the Gaya Municipal Museum. Dancing images of Gaṇapati from Bihar are extremely rare. So far only two independent sculptures, one from Eksari in the Saran district and the other from Birpur near Begusarai in the Monghyr district, representing the deity dancing have come to light, and they differ in respect of iconographic details from the one discussed above. In view of this, the representation of the dancing Gaṇapati on the Pañchāyatana Śiva Līṅga adds new dimension to the study of the iconographic features of the deity.

The side facing towards the west contains the figure of Viṣṇu. It is a representative figure of the deity who has been provided with four arms. Viṣṇu carries discus (*chakra*) in his right hand hanging by his side, while he grasps a mace (*gada*) by the left hand similarly hanging loosely. By his front right hand, slightly upraised, he is found catching hold of an unblossomed lotus (*padma*), while the object held in his front left hand is quite indistinct which may certainly have been a conch-shell (*śaikhā*). He puts on a *kīrti mukūṭa* over his head and a number of ornaments over his person. Viṣṇu is one of those important deities who have very extensively been represented during the medieval period. Numerous four armed standing images of Viṣṇu with his usual attributes in his hands and his body adorned with ornaments have been found not only from Bihar but also from different parts of the country. Viṣṇu is usually accompanied by Lakṣmī with a lotus and Sarasvatī with a lyre standing on his two sides. The two divine consorts of the deity are, however, conspicuous by their absence in the present representation.

The rear side of the Līṅga, i.e. the side facing towards the south is occupied by the figure of a goddess. She has two hands hanging by her sides, carrying a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) by her right hand and a rosary (*akṣa-sūtra*) in her left hand. Her stiff erect posture, arrangement of her coiffure into a *jaṭā* and the objects in her two hands would identify the goddess as Pārvatī. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, while describing a four-armed sitting figure of Gaurī (or Pārvatī) mentions *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣa-sūtra* amongst the attributes of the goddess. Pārvatī puts on a *sārī* and a number of ornaments decorating different parts of her body. The representation of the goddess is rendered all the more interesting on account of the presence of the breast-band (*kucha-bandha*), a feature usually found in late medieval figures of the goddess. Independent images of Pārvatī are very rare in Bihar. There is a fine four-armed figure of Pārvatī embedded in the exterior wall of the Sun Temple at Badgaon near Nālandā in the district of Patna, which has usually been identified as the figure of Bhṛkūṭī. The goddess Pārvatī, accompanied by her two sons, Gaṇapati and Kārttikeya, has been shown holding water-vessel and rosary in her two lower hands. The objects held in her back hand are, however, not clear. A bronze statuette from Nālandā also shows the goddess with a water-vessel in the lower right hand, the corresponding left hand being broken.

The fourth side, i.e., the side facing towards the east bears the figure of Sūrya. He has been represented as standing holding fully blossomed lotus flowers in his two

upraised hands. The deity is accompanied by his two favourite attendants, Daṇḍa holding a staff and a Piṅgala shown pot-bellied. He has his legs with the typical boots on and he wears his usual *mukuta*. Sculptural representations of the god belonging to the medieval period are found all over the country in large numbers. In such representations, he is shown accompanied by his two consorts Uṣā and Pratyusā, the Earth Goddess in his front, the charioteer legless Aruṇa, the seven horses of the chariot carved on the pedestal with the single wheel of the chariot in its centre, besides Daṇḍa and Piṅgala on his either side. These features, excepting the two attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, are, however, not visible in the present representation on the Pañchāyatana Liṅga. It is, however, not unlikely that sculptor had no option but to leave out most of the details deliberately on account of the smallness of the space afforded to him on the side of the Liṅga.

The Liṅga of Śiva fixed in the shrine of the Adalat Ghat at Patna has thus, like the Pañchāyatana type of Liṅga published by Dr. J.N. Banerjea, figures of four cult deities—Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu Pārvatī and Sūrya—superimposed on its four sides. There, however, appears to be no mythology whatsoever connected with the fusion of the five cult divinities into one. In this context reference may be made to the remarks of Dr. Banerjea where he has pointed out the significance of a Pañchāyatana type of Śiva Liṅga. The evolution of the *pañchāyatana-pūjā* and the construction of the *pañchāyatana* type of temple, which are undoubtedly illustrative of the liberal bent of mind of the Hindu devotees, paved the way for the production of such syncretic figures, characteristically demonstrating the syncretistic tendency operating amongst the followers of the rival sects. Reference may be made to another Śiva Liṅga from Bodhgaya, bearing an inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, the Pāla ruler, showing Viṣṇu and Bhairava represented on three of its sides, the fourth side being utilised for the inscription carved upon it.

The spirit of syncretism did not leave untouched even the non-Brahmāṇical cults. A Harihara Image from Bihar, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, shows Sūrya and Buddha standing on either side of the central figure, illustrating in a striking manner not only the combination of the Hindu deities but also that of Buddha with them. There is, as a matter of fact, no dearth of sculptures demonstrating fusion or combination of several deities into one. And the Adalat Ghat sculpture, besides reinforcing what has already been established with regard to religious syncretism, will remain on account of extreme rarity of the Pañchāyatana type of Śiva Liṅga and also on account of its fine workmanship, a remarkable piece of medieval Indian art.

Parādvaita, the Absolute Non-Dualism

While monism is one of the central principles of most Indian philosophies, it is interpreted differently by philosophers from various schools. The most popular school of monism is the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkarācārya. However, many Indian philosophers take exception to this school's concept of monism. For example, Vallabhācārya, an ancient Vaisnavite philosopher, calls his own principle "pure non-dualism" (*śuddhādvaita*), because in his view Advaita Vedānta explains the problem of phenomenal existence on the basis of two mutually different and independent entities. The first entity is known as *Brāhman*, the pure consciousness, and the second is *avidyā*, or inexplicable ignorance. Both are said to be beginninglessly existent. For this reason Vallabhācārya taking *māyā* as the paver of *Brāhman*, does not consider Advaita Vedānta to be a pure monism.

Abhinavagupta, the great eleventh century sage of Kashmir Śaivism, also finds several logical and psychological defects in Śaṅkara's school of Vedāntic monism and therefore calls his monism *parādvaita*, or absolute non-dualism. He uses this term specifically to differentiate it from Advaita Vedāntic monism, which he thoroughly examines and criticizes in several of the works. An example of this can be found in his *Īśvarapratya-bhijñānavivimarśinī* where he says that "the principle of the absolute existence of *Brāhman*, alongwith *Avidyā* as his upādhi (an adventitious element attached to Him); cannot be accepted as a definite principle of pure monism," because it implies the eternal existence of two entities, *Brāhman* and Universal ignorance (*Īśvarapratyabhijñānavivimarśinī*, III. 404). This amounts to a clear dualism. Criticizing the principle of *avidyā* as being the source of creation, Abhinavagupta says:

There is self-contradiction in saying that *avidyā* is indescribable and in describing it as the entity that assumes the whole infinitely varied display of phenomena. To say that finite beings are deluded by the beginningless ignorance brought about by *avidyā*, the divine power of God, implies that such a power is surely describable, and it is actually described in that way. Besides, a non-substantial entity could not have the capacity to manifest such an extraordinary show. If it is really capable of creating, then it must be a truly existent entity and not an apparent and indescribable non (*ibid.*, 80).

In the very beginning of that voluminous work, he also criticizes another theory of creation, the principle of false appearance (*vivarta*). This theory has two aspects. First, it can refer to the appearance of some non-existent phenomenon like a dream or a mirage. According to this aspect, the universe does not exist, but only appears as an existent reality. *Vivarta* can also refer to the appearance of something that is other than it seems, as when a rope is mistaken for a snake, or a shell for silver. According to this aspect of *vivarta*, *Brāhman* exists, but appears falsely as God, finite soul, and insentient matter. In Abhinavagupta's words:

It has been said that *vivarta* is the manifestation of an unreal entity. How can it be unreal when it is manifested? This anomaly has not been given due consideration (*ibid.*, 1.8).

To sum up, Abhinavagupta is saying that an entity that appears clearly and creates the whole universe must be something real and substantial and should be describable as much.

In his commentary on *Parātrīśikā*, Abhinavagupta insists that his philosophic view about the creative nature of absolute reality should not be confused with the views of either Sāṃkhya or Vedānta, as it is specifically a Śaiva view alone (*Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, V. 161). Explaining the creative nature of *Brāhman* as taught in Śaivism, he says:

Brāhman is one compact whole, that power of bliss that projects itself externally by a kind of spilling out of the universal creative potency lying within. Infinite Consciousness gets evolved into all phenomenal existence just as the word *Brāhman* means both the all-pervading infinite and the evolved entity (*ibid.*, 221).

Comparing these Śaivite views on *Brāhman* with those of Advaita Vedānta, he adds:

The *Brāhman* of Śaivism is not the same as that of Advaita Vedānta which comes very close to the final principle of nihilistic Buddhism (*ibid.*, 221).

Īśvarapratyabhijñānavimarsinī is Abhinavagupta's most important work on the theoretical aspect of Śaivism. In discussing this issue there, he criticises both the Advaita Vedāntins and the teachers of Buddhist Idealism, known as Vijñānavādins, when he says:

Finding the contradiction between unity and diversity quite irreconcilable, some thinkers (i.e., Vedāntins) stated that apparent diversity was inexplicable because of its being basic ignorance (*avidyā*), while others (i.e., Buddhists) said that diversity was false because it was an outcome of mental ideation (*saṃvṛti*). Thus

both of them deceived themselves and others as well (*Īśvarapratyabhijñānavimarśini* with *Bhāskari*, II. 131).

In another context in the same work, he discussed the topic in considerable detail and argues as follows:

If it is argued that the unity of absolute Consciousness is a reality, and that (the appearance) of diversity is due to the disturbance caused by *avidyā*, then it is not possible to resolve who is responsible for the defect of ignorance (*avidyā*). For on the one hand, how could *Brāhman*, who is pure knowledge, assume the form of ignorance? And on the other hand, in reality there is no other creature to whom ignorance could occur (*ibid.*, II. 201).

Abhinavagupta refuses to accept *avidyā* as an inexplicable entity. He argues:

If *avidyā* is said to be inexplicable, it is not clear to us for whom it is inexplicable. On the one hand, its essential character becomes manifest, and, on the other hand, it is said to be an indescribable entity. How absurd is it? If this means that its existence cannot be explained or justified through logical arguments, then we ask what kind of logic is it that could contradict direct experience? How can an entity, which shines in experience, be unjustifiable? (*ibid.*, 202).

Next Abhinavagupta introduces a supposition about creation characteristic of Advaita Vedānta.

Brāhman, the pure Consciousness, shines alone as an existent truth in *nirvikalpa* cognition, a direct experience free from ideation, and phenomenal diversity appears as a result of mental ideation (*ibid.*).

He refutes this argument as follows:

Who conducts such ideation? If *Brahman* conducts it, He becomes stained by *avidyā*. None other than He exists, so who else could conduct it? (*ibid.*).

A further argument on this point is then presented in these words:

How can a distinction be established that knowledge without ideation is real while knowledge with ideation is false, when both of them shine with equal brilliance? (*ibid.*).

The Advaitins might finally attempt to take shelter in the authority of Vedic scriptures, but Abhinavagupta refutes this also as follows:

If it is argued that unity is established on the basis of scriptural authority with disregard for mundane knowledge, then it is pointed out here that scriptures themselves hold authority in the field of diversity and have diversity as their character (*ibid.*, 203).

The whole discussion is finally concluded by Abhinavagupta in the following passage:

If the absolute monistic existence of pure Consciousness is accepted, then its independent activity of bearing diverse forms can not be explained at all. But all this can be justified and explained if it be accepted as endowed with freedom in the form of Self-awareness (*ibid.*).

This is how Abhinavagupta presents and discusses the views of Śaṅkarācārya's school of Advaita Vedānta. One can easily understand why Abhinavagupta felt the need to differentiate the non-dualism of Kashmir Śaivism from the apparent monism of the followers of Śaṅkarācārya, while coining the term *paradvaita* in the process of these debates.

It should be pointed out that the main difference between the Vedāntic monism discussed and accepted by Śaṅkarācārya, and the *paradvaita* developed by the authors of Kashmir Śaivism, is probably more a difference of logic than of faith. As we have already seen, Vedāntic teachers place the source of phenomenal existence outside of absolute Consciousness and view its creative power as dependent on the external element they call Ignorance (*avidyā*), while *paradvaita* teachers insist that this creative power is the essential nature of absolute Consciousness and the source of all phenomenal manifestation.

Vedāntic teachers like Śaṅkarācārya, and Gauḍapāda may have expressed this dualistic approach in their logical discourses, but their belief system and practice was undoubtedly somewhat different. Both were devoted theists like the authors of Śaiva monism, and they both used various forms of spiritual practice that were similar to the *śākta upāya* of Kashmir Śaivism. Both of them used Tantric methods in their spiritual practice (*sādhana*).

However, since these teachers were interested in refuting Buddhist logic, they studied it thoroughly and in the process became influenced by many of the Buddhist arguments. Since the above-mentioned shortcomings in their philosophical approach were also present in the logic of their main opponents, the Buddhist logicians, the Advaitins ignored them and made to attempt to remove them. After all, debaters need not pay attention to inconsistencies held in common.

It should also be noted that Śaṅkarācārya did not live long enough for his logical thinking to reach full maturity. One reason that the deficiencies pointed out by Abhinavagupta appeared in Śaṅkarācārya's logical works may be that he composed most of them when he was still in his twenties. Further, most of the prominent post-Śaṅkara Advaitins ignored the works of the great Vedāntic teachers on *practical* aspects of the philosophy and concentrated instead on their *logical* works. These later Advaitins

focussed mainly on debating and logic instead of practising the philosophy in order to experience an actual realisation of *Brāhman*. Śrīharṣa, one of the greatest writers of Vedāntic logic, goes so far as to boastfully declare his preference for logical debate over practice.

The tendency to focus on the intricacies of logical argumentation caused Advaita Vedānta to drift towards a point very close to the nihilism of the Buddhists. It was because of this trend in Advaita philosophy that Abhinavagupta felt the need to clarify the theistic and absolutist monism of Kashmir Śaivism which had been previously discovered and developed by Somānanda and Utpaladeva.

Although there is not doubt that the seeds of such nihilistic thinking are present in the passages of some important logical works of Śaṅkarācārya, still, his prominent works on *practical* Vedānta deserve due consideration, as does his young age during the period in which he composed the commentaries on the *Prasthānatraya* (Upanisads; *Brahmāsūtra*; *Bhagavadgītā*).

It is with an open-minded approach to the basic principles of other schools of philosophy that Abhinavagupta states in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñānavivartimarsinī*, "If a Vedāntic aspirant identifies *avidyā* with *māyā* and takes the latter as the divine potency of *Brahman*, he also can attain the highest perfection." (*Īśvarapratyabhijñānavivartimarsinī*, III. 405). He makes similar remarks about Lord Buddha's teachings and lays the burden of the blame for any logical confusion on the later commentators (*ibid.*).

According to this supreme monism of Abhinavagupta, absolute I-consciousness is the only entity that exists. It is infinite, eternal, perfect, and pure Consciousness, endowed with divine creative power. This creative power is essentially vibrant in nature and is actively engaged in the manifestation of relative unity and all diversity. (The term "relative unity" is used here because manifested unity has only relative oneness when compared to the absolute unity of infinite I-consciousness in which all creation is considered to be present and absolutely real). A perfect Yogin, established in *paradvaita*, sees one Absolute God in all diversity and unity. In this philosophy, diversity is not considered to be an illusion like "the son of a barren woman," but is as real as relative unity. Absolute reality itself shines in both the manifestations of relative unity and diversity. As Abhinavagupta says:

It is not being said that diversity does not exist at all in this (understanding of) non-dualism. The manifestation of diversity has been accepted even in that which is devoid of all differentiation (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, I.106).

This divine creative power is the basic and essential nature of monistic I-consciousness. In their exploration of consciousness during deep states of meditation, Śaiva yogins discovered that this divine essence was infinitely blissful and playful as well as vibrant. Because of its divine and playful nature ancient philosophers called it God, and Śaivites called it *Paramaśiva*.

Creation, preservation, absorption, obscuration, and revelation are the five main acts in the divine play of the lordship of *Paramaśiva*. He creates, preserves, and absorbs all phenomena. In the process, He conceals his real nature and appears as finite beings. He causes these beings to become increasingly identified with their limited individual egos. After undergoing births and deaths in innumerable species. He finally realises his true nature as lordship, thus concluding His divine play. All this is the manifestation of His divine power, and is not in any way different from Him. Thus a finite being is not different from God, who is simply hiding in this form. In the words of Abhinavagupta.

But Almighty God, being able to do even the impossible, and possessing pure independence, is skilled in playfully concealing His real Self (*Tantrāloka*, IV.10).

According to this absolute non-dualism of *parādvaita*, He and he alone exists in all the various scenes of this play. All creation has its real and eternal existence within God in the form of the divine potency of His pure consciousness. Once creation becomes manifested as apparent phenomenal existence, ■ has a beginning and an end. Even so, perfect *yogins* see only the existence of one absolute God in both the apparent phenomenal existence and the pure existence of absolute Consciousness. Śiva *yogins* must not only *know* this truth, they have to actually *feel* it as well. Then and then alone do they attain perfect and complete Self-realisation.

God is God in both His and phenomenal aspects. A poet is a poet even when he is deep sleep. A supreme ruler, though involved in mundane activities or quietly resting, is still a ruler. Similarly, way God remains fully Himself, complete with His divine power, even when He appears in His noumenal aspect. Therefore, it is due to His essential nature that He is God, not because of His relation with phenomenal existence. This is the main difference between the *advaita* approach of Śaṅkarācārya and the *parādvaita* approach of Abhinavagupta.

God, while appearing as all phenomena, does not undergo any change or transformation—called *pariṇāma* by the post-Śaṅkara Vedāntins. According to Abhinavagupta, all phenomenal manifestations take place in the manner of a reflection. He teaches realism (*satkāryavāda*), but his realism is neither a material realism nor does it involve any process of *pariṇāma*. All of the creation is merely an outward reflection of the divine powers of God. His powers shine in Him as "I" but their outward reflections appear as "this". This is the secret of the reality of all phenomena. In this way the *satkāryavāda* of Abhinavagupta can be considered a form of spiritual realism. All creation is the materialisation of the divine will of God. It is a wonderful and divine transmutation brought about by God through His own free will.

There is nothing lacking in the playful nature of God, because He is not only full but overflowing (*paripūrṇa*). All the external manifestations of God's divine potency spill out from this blissful fullness. God projects His powers outward not because of any need, but because it is the basic nature of His infinite and divine potency to do so. A person might

ask why this is God's nature, but it is useless to question or challenge the essential nature of a thing. It would be absurd to ask why fire is warm, or why it shines, or why it burns, and so on. Fire, devoid of such qualities, would, quite simply, cease to be fire. A piece of unlit charcoal is just a lump of charcoal and would never be mistaken for fire. Similarly God, devoid of the vibrant manifestation of his divine creative power, would be reduced to the position of an insentient entity. In the words of Abhinavagupta:

If Almighty God had remained forever in one form, He would have to give up His consciousness and creative power, thus becoming an insentient article like an earthen water vessel (*Tantrāloka*, III.100-101).

The manifestation of contradictory concepts like bondage and liberation, relative unity and diversity, ignorance and knowledge, etc., are simply parts of God's divine drama. Abhinavagupta says:

These twin concepts of bondage and liberation are the essential character of Almighty God, because, in fact, the concept of differences does not exist in him at all (*Bodhaparīcadeśikā*, 14).

Another difference between the *advaita* and *parādvaita* approach is that while Advaitins can experience monism only in the state of *samādhi*, *parādvaitins* experience it even during mundane transactions. Because of this, Narasimhagupta, the father of Abhinavagupta, called it *pratyakṣādvaita*, immediate (perceived) non-dualism. As Abhinavagupta says:

The great teacher, Narasimhagupta, having ripened his intellect in the art of correct contemplation, calls this the non-dualism that can be perceived through one's external sense (*Mālinīvijayavṛttikā*, I. 763).

Abhinavagupta uses a special type of logical reasoning that he calls *sattarka*. All prevalent logic (*tarka*) is based on those conventions that have evolved out of the mundane experiences of people working within the usual confines of the mind and emotions *māyā*. By contrast, *sattarka* is based on the intuitive experiences of *yogins* who transcend limited existence and experience reality at the plane of unity in diversity (*vidyā*).

Abhinavagupta teaches that an insentient object cannot prove or assert its existence through its own power, but requires the help of a sentient being to witness it and to say that it exists. This brings to mind Berkeley's famous dilemma of the tree falling in the forest. If no sentient being is present, does the tree falling make a noise? The Kashmir Śāivites would say, "Yes. There is noise, because it all happens within and is witnessed by Absolute Consciousness."

In this philosophy, sentience alone is said to have an independent existence. It proceeds to some insentient object, assumes its form, and appears as that objects as well.

The manifested insentient object itself is thus considered real. However, such an object is considered to be in a more real and pure form when it shines within the consciousness of some living being where that object can actually be said to exist. Finally, the insentient object is eternal and therefore absolute real (*paramārthasat*) only within infinite Consciousness itself. Whether finite or infinite, ■ is consciousness alone which can appear as a knowing subject, as all the instrument means of knowing, and as all known objects. This proves two things: (1) Consciousness alone has an independent existence, and (2) Consciousness alone shines as.

This approach to the truth through the intuitive vision of unity in diversity (*sattarka*) clarifies the non-dualism of divinely potent Consciousness, and shows that this Consciousness has the power to assume the forms of unconscious entities and to shine in their forms as well. As Abhinavagupta says:

Therefore, only the *ātman* (Self) shines (everywhere) taking as its form the whole objective existence known as the universe, and appearing as all this without any break.

The object, being itself of the nature consciousness, is also wholly immersed in the light (of consciousness): since the ultimate truth is merely that the light (of consciousness) shines, what distinction could there be between omniscience and its absence? (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* with *Bhāṣkarī*, I.51).

Here Abhinavagupta shows that the supposed difference between finite and infinite consciousness is commonly based on the phenomenal existence of the objects of consciousness such as the body, the senses, and the brain. However, because these objects owe their existence to, and emerge out of, Consciousness itself, they can hardly be capable of forming sound judgements about that Consciousness.

Instead of depending on conventional logic, *sattarka* is based on the authority of intuitive experiences of supreme monism realised during the practice of Yoga. The views and teachings of Abhinavagupta may initially be considered illogical by certain scholars of Western philosophy, but exposure to this method might also lead them to take a closer look at the essence of their own form of logic, which depends solely on the mind and the mind's ideation for its authority.

As we pointed out in the Introduction, there is an important difference between Indian *darsana* and Western philosophy. Basically, Indian philosophy (*darsana*) derives from intuitive realisations of truths, while books dealing with these truths are considered *darsanas* in a secondary sense. In Indian philosophical systems, logic is used only in the writings of this secondary form of *darsana* in order to present and debate the truths gleaned during Yogic experience. By contrast in the West, philosophy is basically a tradition of worldly wisdom and logic developed through ordinary intellectual abilities. Because there is no Yogic practice involved, this use of the intellect is essentially the only method that Western philosophy has for arriving at truths.

Abhinavagupta explains the *parādvaita* principle of Kashmir Śaivism at several places in his prominent works and discusses it from several points of view. In his opinion, scriptural passages which express this principle do not need to employ the inclusive/exclusive implication method (*bhāgatyāga-lakṣaṇā*) as commentary or explanation. He says:

Just as students not acquainted with certain synonyms are taught as follows: 'A *pādapa* (tree) is a *bhūruha*, and a *ghaṭa* (pot) is a *kumbha*,' so it is said that the Almighty Lord is this whole phenomenon (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, I. 929).

By this he simply means that the "definition" of God does not add any new predicate about Him, but simply substitutes a synonym—like saying a "rug" is a "carpet."

Parādvaita neither accepts diversity nor rejects it totally. Though diversity is not an absolute reality, yet ■ has it roots in such a reality. Abhinavagupta says:

The absolute monism is that principle that neither refutes nor establishes diversity (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, I.123)

He asserts that no apparent diversity can in any way disturb the absolute unity of the Lord Who shines brilliantly due to the blissful luster of His Pure Consciousness (*ibid.*, I.621).

Adopting the view of supreme non-dualism, Abhinavagupta says that *parādvaita* is the principle wherein monism, dualism, and monodualism appear equally as the manifestations of one and the same divine reality:

The real non-dualism is that philosophical view that sees only one Truth in diverse statements like "This is diversity, this is non-diversity, (that is unity) and, this is both diversity and unity" (*ibid.*, I.626).

According to Abhinavagupta, a *yogin* who is established in the understanding and experience of supreme non-dualism, sees only one reality shining in all mutually opposite entities like pleasure and pain, bondage and liberation, sentience and insentience, and so on, just as an ordinary person sees both a *ghaṭa* and a *kumbha* as only one thing (a pot) expressed through different words (*Tantrāloka*, II.19).

Seeing through the lens of supreme monism, Abhinavagupta says that the Lord can appear as anything and everything in the universe, because He enjoys full independence and is capable of bringing about even the impossible.

The Almighty Lord, by virtue of His perfect independence, capable of doing the impossible. In what form does He not, the master of all masters, appear ? (*Tantrāloka*, I.92).

Elucidating this principle still further, he says that the Lord shines Himself in different ways as (1) uncovered Truth, (2) disguised Truth, and (3) partly hidden truth (*ibid.*, 93).

Laying further emphasis on the absolute theistic nature of monistic reality, he asks:

Who can make the shallow water of a tank overflow the brim? It is (only a spring), full up to the brim, that can send off flowing streams (of water) on all sides (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, 1.245).

Emphasizing the principle of supreme non-dualism, he says that the single absolute Consciousness, being endowed with independent creative power, appears itself in wonderfully varied forms (*ibid.*, 1.76). He adds that it is pure Consciousness alone that appears in the form of all different phenomena (*ibid.*, 1.86).

Aside from the differences with Advaita Vedānta discussed earlier, Abhinavagupta's principle of *parādvaita* should also not be confused with the *bhedābheda* or *viśiṣṭādvaita* principles of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava schools of Southern India for the following reasons:

1. *Parādvaita* maintains an absolutist view in its metaphysics and ontology and this is not popular with Śuddhādvaitins like Vallabha, or with Viśiṣṭādvaitins like Rāmānuja, Śrīkaṇṭha, etc. Bhedābheda-vādins like Nimbārka and Caitanya, alongwith the Śaivasiddhāntins do not support absolutism either.

2. According to Abhinavagupta, *Paramaśiva* ■ not some form of personal God living in a superior heavenly abode like *Vaikuṇṭha*, *Goloka*, *Divya-vṛndāvana*, or *Rudraloka*. All these abodes, alongwith their divine masters, are simply the playful creations of *Paramaśiva*. As we have already seen, He produces these abodes by means of the reflective manifestations of His divine powers. By definition these creation have beginning and an end; only *Paramaśiva* is eternal.

3. The final liberation in the *parādvaita* view is a state of perfect and absolute unity far more profound than even the highest type of *sāyujya* or *sālokya*—the forms of liberation known to these other schools.

4. Creation by *Paramaśiva* involves no transformation (*pariṇāma*) either in God or in his creative energy (*Śakti*). It is instead a wonderful transmutation that causes no change whatsoever in the source.

5. The *parādvaita* of Kashmir Śaivism does not accept any kind of *svagatabheda* or interior variety of *Paramaśiva* that impairs his essential unity the way that the Viśiṣṭādvaitins, for example, see this variety in their eternal truth, which they call *Nārāyaṇa*.

The *parādvaita* of Kashmir Śaivism is clearly a logical non-dualism because it sees only one absolute reality in all phenomenal and noumenal entities. It sees perfect unity

even in mundane transactions. The mind of a Parādvaitin becomes double-edged. It conducts worldly transactions through its outward edge and remains immersed in the absolute unity through its inward edge. Great royal sages like Janaka and Śrīkrṣṇa are examples of yogins who have been described as established in *parādvaita*.

It might be argued that the pantheism of some Western thinkers resembles the *parādvaita* of Kashmir Śaivism, but this theory falls apart because of the non-absolutist character of pantheism. These Western thinkers do not see the existence of God beyond all phenomena. As we have seen, in the view of Abhinavagupta, all phenomena are merely the outward reflective manifestations of the Absolute. These phenomena rise and fall like waves on the ocean of a perfectly pure, independently playful, and divinely potent Consciousness, the only absolute and eternal existent reality.

This philosophy, which contains so many valuable and important principles, has remained more or less confined to the small valley of Kashmir. It is surprising that it never gained real popularity among great scholars in cities like Varanasi. Only a few scholars from India's plains developed interest in *parādvaita*, but they tended to concentrate their interests on the works of later authors like Kṣemarāja and Bhāskaraṇṭha, both of whom present defective versions of the philosophy. This has also been the problem with research in this field during the present century. Most modern scholars have followed these authors of secondary importance, which has resulted in the continuation of various confusions and philosophical loopholes.

Other scholars have started to see some of the important differences between the Vedāntic form of monism and the Śaivite non-dualism. Nevertheless, Vedānta remains the deep-rooted faith of most of them, and this naturally influences their writings. Sanskrit scholars still spend much of their time and energy on the logic of Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya and Vedānta, apparently not drawn to the Self-realisation offered through the *sattarka* of Śaivism. Thus Śaivism has yet to find real acceptance in the academic institutions of Sanskrit learning, even in Varanasi, the city of Śiva.

31

Paramashiva

What is the nature of the Ultimate Reality ? To solve this problem the Sāṅkhya system assumes the existence of two independent realities, Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and thus constructs a dual system. The Vedānta system assumes a single Ultimate Reality, Brāhman, and then supports this hypothesis by introducing another principle, Māyā, which is held to be both not real and not unreal, which is counter to logic. Therefore, Vedānta is still tainted by the suggestion of a sort of dualism.

Kashmir Śaivism constructs a pure monism which assumes a single Reality with two aspects, Prakasha (lit. light, the principle of self-revelation) and Vimarsha (lit. experience, the self-consciousness which brings about the world process). Both are real because the effect cannot be different from the cause. In this way Kashmir Śaivism reconciles the dualism of Sāṅkhya with the monism of Vedānta. However, it is said that logic can never construct an unassailable monism. Therefore, final proof of these two aspects can be obtained only through direct experience of *samādhi*, which is achieved through the grace of the Guru.

The Ultimate Reality is the core of all things and all beings. It has many names. It is called Chaitanya (consciousness), Parasamvit (the supreme experience), Parameshvara (the Supreme Lord), Anuttara (higher than which there is nothing), and Paramashiva (the Supreme Shiva). Here we shall call it Paramashiva.

Although Paramashiva is beyond description, philosophical statements, Paramashiva is referred to as masculine, although the Ultimate Reality is neither masculine nor feminine. He is beyond the limitations of form. He is one and the same in all things and beings. He is beyond the limitations of time and space. He is eternal, infinite, all-pervading. He is all-knowing, all-powerful. He is beyond change, always remaining transcendental and undiminished in the same way that a candle lighted from another candle does not diminish the light of the first candle.

As already mentioned, Paramashiva has two aspects, Prakasha and Vimarsha. They are two inseparable sides of one single Reality like the two sides of a coin, and they always remain in a state of perfect coexistence with each other. Prakasha is the aspect of self-revelation which illuminates everything. As the *Kathopanishad* puts it, "By its shining, everything shines. By its light alone does all this shine."

Vimarsha is the aspect which uses this light to survey itself. This self-observation of the Ultimate Reality is called Vimarsha. It is the non-relational, immediate awareness of "I". It is this pure "I"-consciousness or Vimarsha that is responsible for the manifestation, maintenance, and reabsorption of the universe. Therefore, Vimarsha is called Parashakti (supreme power). Thus, the Ultimate Reality is not only Universal Consciousness, but also universal psychic energy or power. For that reason it is described as both transcendental and immanent. Of the many powers of Paramashiva, only five are fundamental : *chit-shakti*, *ananda-shakti*, *iccha-shakti*, *jñāna-shakti*, and *kriya-shakti*:

(1) *Chit-shakti* is described earlier as Prakasha, the power of self-revelation, by which the Supreme shines by Itself. This aspect is known as Shiva.

(2) *Ananda-shakti* is the power of absolute bliss, which is totally independent. This aspect of the Supreme is known *Ananda Shakti*.

(3) *Ichā-shakti* is the power of feeling supremely capable, the power of forming a divine decision regarding what to do or what to create. This is the power of will of Paramashiva. This aspect is known as Sadashiva or Sadakhya.

(4) *Jñāna-shakti* is the power of knowledge, the power of maintaining all objects in conscious relationship with oneself and also with one another. This aspect is known as Ishvara.

(5) *Kriya-shakti* is the power of action, the ability of Paramashiva to assume any and every form. This aspect is known as Shuddhavidya or Sadvidya. The universe is nothing but an unfolding or expansion of the Supreme Shakti. The vast multiplicity of the universe, both subjective and objective, is contained within the power of the Supreme, exactly as the potential multiplicity of a tree exists within the seed.

The Prakasha or transcendental aspect of Paramashiva or Pure Consciousness exists as a logical necessity, for there must be a condition beyond which further analysis cannot go (Anuttara) in order to avoid the logical fallacy of "regressus ad infinitum." Since something cannot out of nothing, this Ultimate Reality must contain all things in their fullness. Therefore, in order to account for feeling or experiencing, ■ must be Universal Consciousness. This aspect of the Universal Consciousness is technically referred to in Kashmir Shaivism as Chit. In order to account for joy, it must be universal bliss. This is called *ananda*. In order to account for desire, it must be universal desire. This is called *iccha*. In order to account for knowledge, it must be universal intelligence, which is called *jñāna*. In order to account for action, it must be universal action, which is called *kriya*. The technical term used to describe the eternal substance in which all things are inherent is *chaitanya*, which means the changeless aspect of Pure Consciousness, the universal intelligence, or spirit. It is technically defined as *Sat-chit-ananda*, that is, being-consciousness-bliss. This does not mean that being is ■ consciousness of bliss, but that being is conscious and bliss as such. This represents the perfect condition of the supreme ideal, when nature rests in herself, when there is no feeling of want to be satisfied, when there is no feeling of a need to go forth. It is the transcendental condition of universal potentiality.

Chaitanya is, therefore, Pure Consciousness and can be defined as the boundless

space in which the universe is born, grows, and dies; the continuum of experience that pervades, sustains, and vitalises all existence; the source of all things; the spiritual substance of all things; the foundation upon which all things appear; the one and only Reality.

It is by definition without parts (*nishkala*) and, therefore, unproduced, indestructible, and motionless, for all these necessitate the displacement of parts. It is also eternal and all-pervading and, therefore, with no inside or outside. It is without attributes (*nirguna*) and, therefore, beyond time and space. It is beyond the mind and, therefore, not a subject of knowledge. It is a principle of pure experience and can be realised only in the ecstasy of spiritual illumination through grace.

Paraśurāmeśvara Temple

R.D. Banerji, on the basis of the Palaeography of the inscriptions says that the Paraśurāmeśvara temple cannot be earlier than the eight century A.D. However, this is the oldest temple in Orissa. K.C. Panigrahi assigns the first or second part of the 7th century A.D. as the date of Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The temple was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works Department in 1903, and in process, much of the original construction of the roof in the cells has been disturbed. The *Jagamohana* is a rectangular structure with a clerestory, plain massive carved perforated stone windows and two doors. The interior of the structure which is a pillared hall is therefore, more lighted than the later *Jagamohana* with only one door and two balustraded windows.

The pages of Pilasters which are one of the main features of the Orissan temple architecture, are not found to have been fully developed in the Paraśurāmeśvara. We may call the temple a *triratha* type, in which the fully decorated Pilasters, one central (*rahapaga*) and two corner ones (*Konika-Pagas*). The designs in the tower are ones of Chaitya arches with medallions or shallow niches all containing Śaivite images or scenes from Śiva's life. The designs are stereotypes and repeated in all the four facades with equal emphasis. The interiors of both the temples and the *Jagamohana* are severely plain. The style exhibited by its sculptures has been the sole basis for determining its date and evidences of style are apt to lead to wide divergence of opinions. As Percy Brown dubiously takes it to be a product of the early part of the sixth century A.D. In the corners half-amalakas occur in every three courses of stones and to them we may trace the origin of the *aniga-śikhara*s that constitute such a prominent feature in the later temples. Most probably the Śikhara temple took its shape from the wooden *ratha* or *Pāgoda* which is used in the car festival annually held at PURI and Bhubaneśwar in the months of July and March, respectively. Curiously enough, the term *ratha* is also associated with one of the principal features of an Orissan Rekha or Śikhara temple, namely the *Pagas* or Pilasters, according to the number of which the different varieties of the same type are known as *tri-ratha*, *pancha-ratha*, *sapta-ratha* and *naba-ratha* temples.

Iconographic Importance of this Temple

It is by far the most decorated in the early temples. As Percy Brown observes "every stone here is of informative character. A series of cult images occur in low relief in shallow rectangular niches carved at the base of Jagamohan. Viṣṇu holds in the left hands a disc and a club and in the lower right a *vijāpurakā*. We also find Śiva and Pārvatī seated side by side. Śiva holds a long trident and wears a snake as a *kunḍala* in the right ear. Other images found on the walls of *Jagamohana* are Indra, Yama, Varuna, Vāyu, Kubera, Isāna etc. On the both sides of the doorway Gaṅgā and Yamunā occur in the usual positions of the jambs. A row of nine deities constituting an early group of Saptamatrikas with their two associates begins from the north-west corner of the northern wall. The special feature of this temple is the presence of four-armed Śiva seated and holding a long trident an *akṣhamālā* and a lotus in his hands. Lākuliśa sits in the *Padmāsana* posture holding a club (*Lākuta*) and showing *Vyākṣāna-Mudrā* by both the hands. On the northern wall occurs in a Chaitya window a Maheśamūrti similar to one found in the famous Elephant cave, which, according to T.A. Gopinath Rao, has been identified as Trimūrti.

Some more images of Gaṇeśa, Durgā, and Kārtikeya are to be noticed on the main temple. Two images of Lākuliśa occur on the body of the main temple, which indicates that this temple was associated with the Lākuliśa Paśupata sect of Śaivism. They are seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The four make figures found in association with the central figure are certainly the representations of the four disciples of Lākuli, whom we know from the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas* and also from the *Citra Prasasti* of the Chalukya ruler Sarangadeva, were Kauśika, Carga, Mitra and Kaurushya. We also mark one of the most interesting scene of Śiva's marriage depicted on the lintel of the central niche of the eastern wall. Śiva and Pārvatī stand in the centre of the scene, dressed as the bridegroom and the bride. Gopinath Rao illustrates several scenes of Śiva's marriage which he calls *Kalyāṇa-Sundara-Mūrtis*. The presence of Gaṇeśa's in the marriage scene of Śiva appears to be an anachronism.

33

The Pāśupatas and Lakuliśa

The *Mahābhārata* refers to the Pāśupata as one of four doctrinal systems (*jñāna*) along with the Veda, Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Pañcarātra. Although the Purāṇas not infrequently condemn the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra as advocating principles contrary to those of the Veda, it is the Pāśupatas who are generally considered to be the most subversive. In a myth often retold in the Epics and Purāṇas, it is Śiva, not Viṣṇu, who destroys Dakṣa's sacrifice in a fit of rage because he was not invited to it along with the other gods. In the Epic, one of the many variants of this important myth portrays this event as symbolic not only of the growing importance of Śaivism which seemed, as it developed, to be ousting the older Vedic religion but, more specifically, as an occasion to assert the growing power of the Pāśupatas. Thus, when Śiva in his terrible form of Rudra has destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice, he declares:

I, Rudra, for the first time created the mysterious religion of the Pāśupata, beneficent to all, facing in all directions, one that can take years or only ten days to master, one which although censored by the foolish because it is in places opposed to the order of the rules of caste and stages of life (*varṇāśramadharmā*), is nevertheless appreciated by those of perfected wisdom (*gatānta*) and is in fact superior to it.

It is not impossible that the reference in the *Mahābhārata* to the four doctrinal systems we have noted above was written at a time when the Śaivāgamas had not yet begun to be compiled and their cults had not yet developed, that is, when the major representatives of sectarian Śaivism were the Pāśupatas. It seems likely that these Pāśupatas, who considered themselves to be independent of the Vedic-Smārta tradition were, as such, the immediate precursors of Āgamic Śaivites. Consequently, the latter reserved a place for them amongst their own numerous groups and incorporated the Pāśupata into their own canonical categories.

We know very little about the oldest Pāśupata groups. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Śrīkaṇṭha, the Lord of the elements (*bhūtapati*) and Umā's husband (*umāpati*), started the

Pāśupati cult. Pathak has tried to establish that Śrikantha is a historical figure, his views however have been hotly contested and largely rejected. A more commonly accepted opinion is that Lakulīśa was the original founder of Pāśupata Śaivism. Although scholars generally agree that Lakulīśa really existed, not everyone shares the opinion of some scholars that he lived in, or before, the second century. There can be no doubt, however, that Lakulīśa must have lived before the sixth century because it is from this time onwards that images of him bearing standard iconographic features began to be produced.

Anyhow, however early Lakulīśa's date may be, it is far from certain that Pāśupata Śaivism starts with him. Indeed, it is far from certain that we can identify the Śivabhagavats mentioned by Patañjali as pre-Lakulīśa Pāśupatas, as Banerjee does. Nor can we affirm without doubt that are amongst the ascetic sects mentioned in Pali and other early sources. Even so there are good reasons to distinguish between the Lākulīśa Pāśupata and other Pāśupata sects that have nothing to do with Lakulīśa. We have seen that the Pāśupatas and Lākulīśas are invariably distinguished in the Purāṇas, Āgamas and other source. Lakulīśa had four disciples: Kuśika, Gārgya, Kuruṣa and Mattreya. Each of these founded subsects. The ascetics of these orders considered themselves to be Lākulīśa Pāśupatas belonging to one or other of four lineages (*gotra*). They were not just Pāśupatas. We know also that other Pāśupata groups did exist, such as the Valmalas and Kārukas. Although it is not possible to say whether they predate Lakulīśa, there are concrete indications that he did have predecessors. Thus a number of Purāṇas declare that Śiva had twenty-eight incarnations, which they list and portray as a lineage of Yoga masters ending with Lakulīśa. Divedi, who has collated these lists, believes that this tradition records, however imperfectly, the names of early Pāśupatas.

Although we have no means at present of assessing how much, if any, historical basis there is for these names, there appears at least to have been a tradition which admits the existence of Pāśupata teachers prior to Lakulīśa. But, whether Lakulīśa was the first Pāśupata or not, he is without doubt an important founder figure whose contribution was so substantial that he came to represent Pāśupata Śaivism as a whole. Presumably this is why Abhinavagupta divides Śaivism (*Śaivaśāśana*) into two main currents (*pravāha*): one associated with Lakulīśa and the other with Śrikantha, whose teachings (*śāśana*) consist of the five major streams (*śrotas*) of the Śaivāgamas we shall discuss later.

Unfortunately, no original Pāśupata scriptures have been recovered. Moreover we are hard pressed to find evidence to prove that such scriptures ever existed. We do come across expressions like "*Pāśupata-śāstra*" and even hear of its fabulous size but we have managed to trace only one concrete reference to a possible Pāśupata scripture. This occurs in Bhaṭṭotpala's tenth century commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhita* where he says that the Pāśupatas worship Śiva according to the procedures enjoined by the *Vātulatantra*. All of the few works so far recovered belong to Lakulīśa school. The oldest is the *Pāśupatasūtra* attributed to Lakulīśa himself. We also have a commentary called "*Pañcārthabhāṣya*" by Kaundinya, whose date, although far from certain, is generally thought to be sometime between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D.

Although we cannot be sure that the *sūtras* are, as the commentator says, by Lakulīśa himself, they do, in fact, appear to be quite old and bear many archaic traits. These are apparent particularly in the figure of Pāśupati himself who is identified with Prajāpati and associated with the Vedic Rudra with whom he shares a number of Vedic names such as Aghora, Ghora, Śarva and Sarva. Apart from the *Pāśupatasūtra* the only other extant Lakulīśa Pāśupata work is the *Gaṇakārikā* by Haradattācārya and a tenth century commentary, the *Ratnaṭīkā*, by Bhasarvajña. These works, along with summaries of Lākulīśa Pāśupata philosophy found in medieval treatises on the philosophical systems, are the sole sources we possess. It is possible that Lakulīśa's disciple, Musalendra, wrote a work called the *Hṛdayapramāṇa* and there are numerous quotes from lost works both in the *Ratnaṭīkā* and Kaundinya. Unfortunately, the sources are never names, and it is hard to say whether they are original Āgamas or not, or if they are specifically Pāśupata scripture or secondary works.

The spiritual discipline these works prescribe does not complex rites or require extensive intellectual development. It is, however, largely intended for the renunciate, rather than the householder. Thus lay worshippers have only to recite obeisance of Śiva (*namaḥ śivāya*) with folded hands while the celibate ascetic is given much more to do. He can be either fully naked or wear a single strip of cloth to cover his privities. He should practice austerities, such as the penance of sitting amidst five fires. After his morning ablutions he smears his body with ashes and does the same at noon and in the evening. After his bath he goes to the temple where he sits to meditate on Śiva. As he does so, he should sometimes laugh loudly, sing and dance. Before leaving and saluting the deity, he repeats the seed-syllable "huṃ" three times and recites his *mantra*. When he bathes alone, he should pay homage to the lineage of Pāśupata teachers (*īrtheśa*) headed by Lakulīśa. After his bath he should select a clean place for meditation and stay there to practice it through the day. In the evening the site is again cleared and purified with ashes. When he feels sleepy, he again spreads ashes on the ground and lies down to sleep.

When the Pāśupata Yogi has developed a degree of spiritual insight (*jñāna*), his teacher permits him to practice antinomian behaviour. At this stage of his spiritual discipline, he should act like a madman ignorant of right and wrong. Pretending to sleep, he snores loudly or rolls on the ground and talks nonsense. When he sees a beautiful woman, he should make lewd gestures at her. In this way he courts abuse in the belief that his disgrace will gain for him the double benefit of purifying him of his sins and gaining the merit of those who abuse him.

The Lākulīśa ascetic is, however, basically a disciplined, continent man. Moreover, although he is told to behave a manner contrary to accepted norms, his conduct falls short of the total abandon extremists Tantrics allow themselves. He can laugh and sing in the temple but he is not allowed to offer Śiva anything else if it is not prescribed. In fact, his behaviour is regulated by injunctions (*vidhi*) down to the smallest detail. For instance, he must offer garlands to Śiva, but they must not be made of fresh unconsecrated flowers. He cannot simply abandon himself on his own initiative: he must wait for his teacher's permission to do so. His lewd gestures are just-play acting; in reality he must avoid

woman's company whenever he can. He is specifically prohibited from even talking to women and must be strictly celibate. Women are a particularly dangerous source of temptation; they are not embodiments of the goddess and as such potential Tantric consorts through whom communion with Śiva could be attained. As Kaundinya says:

She whom people regard as woman is in reality deadly poison which consumes a man's life like fire and is as dangerous as a sword or an arrow. She is horror and illusion (*māyā*) incarnate. Fools, not the wise, revel in the body full of impurities and worms. Foul smelling and unclean, ■ is the ephemeral abode of urine and excreta. It is the sight of a woman, not wine, that maddens a man. Shun therefore, woman whose mere sight, even at a distance, deludes. The world is bitten by the snake whose form is woman's sexual organ who, with mouth cast downwards, moves between her things, beyond all control even that of the scriptures.

If the Lākuliśa Pāśupata works that have been preserved reflect Lakuliśa's own views, it appears that his *path* is a peculiar combination of the orthodox and extreme heterodox. As outlined in these works, it is, despite the antinomian elements, as closely linked to the orthodox 'Vedic' patterns as it is to the Tantric. If Lakuliśa was, in fact, a reformer who revived Pāśupata Śaivism, as some scholars believe, possibly this reform consisted in a restatement of Pāśupata ideals and the rationale behind the Pāśupata's behaviour in such a way as to make them more acceptable to the Brahmanical literate class. Alternatively, it is possible that Lakuliśa brought about a revival of an older, essentially Vedic, form of Śaivism that evolved out of the proto-sectarian ascetical orders of the Vedic world. These groups were sustained in their ideals by the peculiar figure of Rudra, a Vedic god whose appearance and character could serve as the focus of an alternative set of values sustained by the Brahmanical classes. Be that as it may, Lakuliśa himself is consistently portrayed, both in the Purāṇas and the Pāśupata texts, as a Brāhmin.

The *Kāraṇamūlīya* says that he was an incarnation of Śiva born to a Brāhmin couple in Ulkāpuri and later went to Kāyāvarohaṇa where he began to preach. Kaundinya says that he was an incarnation of Śiva who, taking the form of a Brāhmin, was born in Kāyāvatarāṇa. This place, also called Kāyāvarohaṇa, Kārohaṇa or Kāyārohaṇa, is identified with the village of Kārvān situated some twenty miles north of Baroda. Ulkāpuri is modern Avākhāl in the same region. According to the *Śivapurāṇa*, Śiva entered and revived the corpse of a Brāhmin lying in a cremation ground near Kāyāvarohaṇa. He did so for the benefit of all brahmins. According to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* he, "the Lord of the gods," resides in the sanctuary of Kāyāvatāra. He was the last of Śiva's incarnations, all of whom come into the world for the welfare of Brāhmins and to establish the Veda. Kaundinya repeatedly stresses that the followers of Lakuliśa must be brahmins. This is because Lakuliśa was himself a Brāhmin and taught his religion to brahmin pupils. The *Pāśupatasūtra* itself declares that: "no brahmin returns to the world." Kaundinya comments: "no Brāhmin, be he a householder, student, hermit or ascetic who

reads one, two, three or four Vedas or even (merely recites) the *Gāyatrī* and who approaches close to Rudra by his conduct, returns to the cycle of rebirth."

The *Pāśupatasūtra* prescribes that the aspirant should not even talk to a member of the lowest (*śūdra*) caste. If he happens inadvertently to do so or—worse—to touch one, he must purify himself by practicing breath control and repeating a Vedic *mantra* (here called *Gāyatrī*) addressed to Rudra. In this way, his mind is freed from impurity (*kaluṣa*). Several teachers of the *Kālāmukhas* who, as we have noted, were *Lākulīśa Pāśupatas*, are referred to in inscriptions as *Brāhmins*. Their monastic centres were places where these celibate ascetics could study every branch of orthodox Sanskrit learning, including the *Mīmāṃsā* and the Vedas with their auxiliaries. The *Pāśupatas* of the *Pāśupatasūtra* were also close to their Vedic roots. The importance given to the recitation of "OM" (a practice normally forbidden to the lower castes) and the recitation of Vedic Mantras in honour of *Pāśupati* clearly indicates the Brahminical character of this cult.

However, not all *Pāśupatas* had to be *Brāhmins*. Dvivedi observes that some of the names of *Pāśupata* teachers listed as preceding *Lakulīśa* correspond to a list of members of the *Kṣatriya* aristocracy found in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Vāmanapurāṇa* confirms that *Kṣatriyas* also followed the *Pāśupata*'s path. Possibly these references are evidence that *Lakulīśa* did, in fact, introduce changes in this respect into the earlier *Pāśupata* religion. Perhaps also, we can understand the specific injunction in the *Sūtras* not to look at urine and excreta as a reaction against the more extreme practices of the earlier *Pāśupatas* that required the handling and even consumption of these and other obnoxious substances.

In fact, we must clearly distinguish between two basic types of *Pāśupata* traditions, namely, one that bases itself on the Vedic tradition (or better its classical *smṛti* form as it appears in the *Purāṇas*, etc.) and one that, in the eyes of the former, runs counter to that tradition. We find extensive references to the former everywhere in the *Purāṇas*, particularly in the *Kūrma*, which can be said to be the most important *Purāṇa* for *smṛti* *Pāśupatas*. In this *Purāṇa* the consort of the Great Goddess is *Pāśupati* and she enjoins that men should follow the ordinances of the Vedas and *smṛtis* concerning caste and the stages of life (*varṇāśrama*). She loves those who do so. *Pāśupati* is invoked by reciting the *Śatarudriya* Section of the *Yajurveda* and other Vedic hymns along with the *Atharvaśirasupaniṣad*. Indeed, Śiva is the embodiment of the Veda and can be known solely through the Veda, while the Veda's sole object of knowledge of Śiva. *Prthu*'s grandson, King *Suśīla*, went to the Himalayas and there praised Śiva with Vedic hymns. There appeared before him the stage *Śvetāśvatara*, great *Pāśupata*. He imparted to the king a Vedic Mantra and thus initiated him into the *Pāśupata* path. The king thus entered the last stage of life (*sannyāsa*) and, covering himself with ashes, dedicated himself to the study of the Vedas. Everywhere in this *Purāṇa*, Śiva extols the importance of the *Pāśupata* vow:

Tranquil, with the mind under one's control, the body covered with ashes, devoted to celibacy and naked, one should observe the *Pāśupata* vow. In former days I

created the supreme Pāśupata vow, more secret than secret, subtle and the essence of the Veda, for man's liberation. The sage, devoted to the practice of the Vedas, wearing nothing but a loincloth or single piece of clothing, should meditate upon Śiva, the Lord of Beasts (Pāśupati).

But even though Śiva enjoins the observance of the Pāśupata vow, he goes on to say that scriptures of the followers of Lakulīśa and the Pāśupatas are amongst those that he has created which run counter to the ordinances of the Veda and so should not be followed. We seem to be faced with a contradiction. The Lākulīśa Pāśupata path, as outlined in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and other extant works of this school, basically falls in line with the Pāśupata path described in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*. Yet both the Pāśupatas and the Lākulīśa Pāśupatas are repeatedly censured in this Purāṇa as heretics and outside the Vedic fold (*vedabāhya*). Similarly, the *Devībhagavata* stress that knowledge of the Veda bears fruit only by applying ashes to the body as a sign of devotion to Śiva. It warns, however, that the ashes must not be prepared in the manner described in the Tantras nor should they be accepted from the hands of a Śūdra, Kāpālīka or other heretics including, presumably, non-Vedic Pāśupatas.

The *Śivapurāṇa* distinguishes between two types of Śaivāgama, namely, Vedic (*śrauta*) and non-Vedic (*aśrauta*). The former consists of the essential purport of the Vedas, and is that in which the supreme Pāśupata vow is explained. The latter is independent and consists of the twenty-eight Siddhāntāgamas. Why then does the *Kūrma* reject some Pāśupatas and not others? Again, what should we make of Abhinava's analysis of the Śaiva teachings (*Śaivaśāstra*) into two currents—one associated with Lakulīśa and the other with Śrīkaṇṭha? Does he mean that Lakulīśa current flows through the Purāṇas and Smṛtis? Probably not, otherwise he would not distinguish between the "Śaiva teachings" and those of the Vedic tradition, which he says are its very opposite. The Śaivāgamas do, in fact, frequently refer with approval to the Pāśupatas and make room for them in their world view.

Thus the *Śvacchandatantra*, as Dvivedi indicates in his article, has homologised the places associated with Śiva's incarnations prior to Lakulīśa with the worlds located in the metaphysical principles (*tattva*) which constitute the cosmic order. The Āgamas in general, as we have already noted, accept both the Pāśupata and Lākulīśa Pāśupata as branches of the Śaiva teachings. Moreover, Abhinava associates them particularly with the monistic Tantric traditions which have contributed to the formation of Kashmiri Śaivism and sees them as being intimately related to the Kaula and Bhairava Tantras. This association is apparently confirmed by the Purāṇas which treat the Pāśupatas and followers of the Vāma and Bhairava Tantras as groups of equally heretical Śaivites. We must therefore distinguish not only between two types of Pāśupatas in general but also, more specifically, between two types of Lākulīśa Pāśupatas as well. How these Smārta and Āgamic Śaivites are related to one another is a subject of further research?

34

The Paśupatināth

One of the most prominent deities revered highly in Nepal, the nation nestled in the lap of the Himalays, is the deity named as the Paśupatināth. As Nepal is known as the only Hindu kingdom in the world, it is natural that this deity has had to occupy a very prominent place among all the Hindus of the world. The temple of this deity stands at the bank of the holy river Bagmati,—the river that flows in the midst of Kathmandu, the capital town of the kingdom of Nepal.

In the days of yore, the area, where the temple of the Pashupatinath stands, was known as the Sleshmantaka forest. The *Paśupatī Purāṇa*, the Nepal Mahatmya, the Himbatkhanda etc. mention that this forest was once loved much by Lord Shiva,—the great god of the Hindu world. That is why, He had spent a lot of time in the wilderness of this forest in merry-making assuming Himself the form of a deer. As Lord Śiva spent a lot of time in the wilderness of this forest in the form of a deer, this Selahmantaka forest is known still now as Mrigasthali, to say in other words, the abode of deers.

Legends Regarding the Origin of the Paśupatināth : The legends available as regards the origin of the Paśupatināth can be divided into two categories and they are : (a) Mythological and (b) Historical.

- (a) *Mythological Legends* : As regards the origin of the Paśupatināth, diverse versions are available on the Purāṇa, the Vamshabali and on other history books. The Nepal Mahatmya of the *Skanda Purāṇa* states that in the ancient days, Śiva, the great god, has strolled in this place assuming Himself the form of a deer with golden horns. Later on when Indra, Brahma and Viṣṇu the gods of heaven came to know of this fact, He left the form of the deer. As he strolled over this place as a beast or as a four-footed animal, He installed Himself in this area as the Paśupati i.e. the lord of beasts. The Gopalaraj Vamshabali somewhere mentions that at a certain time, a cow used to spill her milk at a particular mound of this forest. A cowherd of Kirtipur named as Nema Gopala came to know of this matter. He wanted to unfold the mystery of this mound and hence began to dig it. While digging the mound a Luminous Phallus (ज्योतिर्लिंग) emerged out from this place. Nem Gopal, the cowherd, was turned into ashes by the flame of this phallus. Ne Muni, the well known sage of that period, came to know of this fact. He installed the son of Nem Gopala as the king of Nepal. This Vamshabali traces out the first Shivalinga of the Paśupatināth veritably as the same Shivalinga.

- (b) *Historical Facts* : While studying from the historical perspective, no specific document can be traced out as regards the construction of the Pashupatinath temple in the beginning. Historians are of the opinion that the temple was initially constructed in the third century B.C. Among the shivalingas available in Nepal up till now, the shivalinga of Kirteshwar is the oldest one. While contemplating on this fact, it becomes clear that the cult of worshipping the phallus had been in vogue in the ancient Nepal since the days of Kirata Kings. After the days of the Kirata kings, the successive kings of Lichchivi and Malla dynasties and the kings of the present Shah dynasty too have paid due respects to this temple of the Paśupatināth.

The Copalraj Vamshabali mentions that the temple of the Pashupatinath was built for the first time by King Supushpadeva of the Lichchivi dynasty in the first century A.D. During the historical period, specially during the regime of King Anshuvarma, the king of Lichchivi dynasty, the Paśupatināth was assigned a significant status and was revered as a national deity. This fact is evidenced by the title "Blessed by the feet of Lord Pashupati" which King Anśuvarma used before his name and also by the name "Kailashkut" which he used for his palace in correspondence with the name of Lord Shiva's abode. And similarly, the ending of all of the speeches by the present Shah kings with the words "May Lord Pashupatinath bless us all" also proves how the Paśupatināth has been revered and venerated preeminently.

Destruction and Renovation : With the passage of time, the temple of the Pashupatinath also has had to face many serious hardships and obstructions. In the year 1349 A.D., Sultan Samsuddin, the dictatorial ruler of Bengal, made a entry into Kathmandu, the then Nepal. With a view to loot the gold and silver, he demolished the temple the Pashupatinath and broke the holy lingam of the deity into three pieces. A few years after Sultan Samsuddin's return, Jaisinghramvardan, Mahamataya (Prime Minister) of the then King Arjun Deva reconstructed the temple and erected a new shivaling in lieu of the old one. Later on, it was Bhupalendra Malla, the king of Malla dynasty, who had renovated the temple in 1754 A.D.

Paśupatināth's Five Faces : The *Śiva Purāṇa* traces a lot of incarnations which Lord Shiva had taken from time to time. Among the innumerable incarnations, the five incarnations named as Sadyojata, Vamdeva, Tatpurusha, Aghora and Ishana are the prominent ones. The present shivalinga of the Paśupatinath has been carved out with a view to represent all of these incarnations in one image. The Śivalinga's five faces on the West, North, East, South and Zenith are known respectively as the Sadyajata, the Vamdeva, the Tatpurusha, the Aghora and the Ishana. These five faces represent the five primary elements the earth, the water, the air, the light and the ether respectively. Quoting the Puranas as regards these faces, Mr. Nanda Nandan Sanadhya elaborates them as follows:

The Sadyojata, the Vamdeva, the Aghora and the
Tatpurusha are the four faces.

The fifth one is the Ishana which is unknowable
even to the seers.

Selection of Priests : While appointing the priests of the Paśupatiṇāth, a lot of things are taken into consideration. In accordance with the stipulated ordinances, the candidate for the post of priesthood should be a person devoid of any scars of the stitched wound. He must not be a celibate (unmarried person) or a sanyasin. The priests are of two kinds and they are (a) Chief Priest and (b) Ordinary Priests. The ordinary priests are to perform their duties as per the chief priest's instructions. While filling up the vacancy to the post of chief priest, the tradition is that the senior most ordinary priest is promoted. The progeny of the priests cannot claim any inheritance in priesthood. If anyone of the priest's wife is dead or he himself succumbs to injury followed by scars of stitched wounds he has had to resign from the post. The priest cannot acquire Nepalese citizenship so long as he remains in position. The priest should be a Brāhmin from Telangana, South India, i.e. Andhra, Dravid or Maharashtra. The priests are addressed as Bhattas. These ordinances are applicable equally to the priest of the Basuku Narayan temple, the temple within the courtyard of the Paśupatiṇāth.

Provision for Bhandaris : There is also a provision for appointing Bhandaries to carry on the works of supervision on the Paśupatiṇāth temple. The Bhandaries are of Newar community. The children of Bhandari also become Bhandari by inheritance. The family members of the Bhandari perform their duties for one month by rotation. They have to observe a purified life while on duty period. The Bhandaries must be born within the area of the Paśupatiṇāth or say Deopatan. They are entitled to enter into the inner santum of the temple where the lay people cannot go. The main function of them is to help devotees to offer worshipping materials to the deity and to distribute the sandal paste (chandan) and flowers of the deity to them (devotees). They are permitted to enter the temple only after being initiated with stipulated tantric procedures.

Tradition of Priesthood : Nothing can be said as regards the question when and who for the first time started the regular worshipping procedures of the Paśupatiṇāth temple at the initial stage. The *Bhaskar Vamshabali* mentions that in 1199 the Shankaracharya of Amardaka Agni Math in Benaras had paid a visit to Nepal. This Shankaracharya made a tremendous impact on the then Nepal, the present Kathmandu valley. It is he who established the tradition of appointing the priests of the temple from among the brahmins of South India.

The late historian Mr. Babu Ram Acharya is of the opinion that since Arjun Malla's regime, the tradition of bringing the Brāhmins of Karnataka, South India, as the priests of the temple had been in practice. According to him (Mr. Acharya) Jaisinghramvardan, the mahamatya (primeminister) of Arjun Malla, reconstructed the temple of the Paśupatiṇāth and brought the Brāhmins of Karnataka to carry on the worshipping procedures of the Paśupatiṇāth.

The tradition of appointing priests from among the South Indian Brāhmins had been stopped for a few centuries. During that period some sanyasins had carried on the worshipping procedures. In 1735 A.D., Jagatjaya Malla, the king of Malla dynasty brought a brahmin from Tailangana, South India named as Samba Sada Shiva Bhatta and appointed him to the priesthood of the Paśupatiṇāth temple. While appointing the new priest, he had maintained the tradition as was expounded by the Shankaracharya of Amardak Agni Math. Since that time the tradition of appointing the brahmins of Tailangana, to say in other words, the

brahmins belonging to Dravid clan from among Karnataka, Dravid (Maharashtra) and Andhra to the priesthood of the temple had been in prevalence. The directives issued by the Śaṅkaracharya as regarding the appointment of the priests are as follows:

Let the Brāhmins from Karnataka, Maharashtra or Andhra of the West Vindyaśāhi belong to Dravidian clan be appointed or consecrated and then be deployed to the priesthood of the Pashupatinath. After this death, the same procedure be followed while appointing another priest.

Worshipping Procedures

The western door of the temple generally opens at 04.00 hours at morning. The Devotees can have darshan (seeing) of the main image of the deity right from that moment. The other doors of the temple open only after the arrival of the priests. The succession of worshipping begin after the arrival of the priests only. The worshipping is carried on both by Vedic and Tantric rituals. The worshipping activities are generally of two types: (1) regular worship and (ii) special worship. If any person dies within the courtyard of the Lord, the worshipping is stopped until and unless the dead body or corpse is not taken away from the courtyard.

- (i) *Regular Worship*. The regular worship of the lord commences right after the entry of the priests to the temple. The priests, generally, make entry into the temple between 08.00 and 09.00 hours in the morning. After the entry, the priests engage themselves in bathing (washing) the image of the deity with pañchamṛt, viz. milk, curd, ghee, honey and sugar and in clothing the image. After performing these tasks the deity is invoked (in the image) lighting incense, wick and offering various other materials. The morning worship ends in this way.

During the day time, the food materials known as bhoga consisting of rice, pulse, vegetable, pickle, ghee etc. are offered to the image. In the evening, the worshipping procedures are repeated as in done in the morning.

- (ii) *Special Worship*: Some of the special worshippings as observed in the temple run are follows:
 - (a) On every fullmoon night, the deity is offered Mahabhoga or the great feeding. At this ceremony many kind of foods are piled up on the copper sheet placed on the southern side of the temple. The materials of Mahabhoga consists of plentiful of rice, pulse, ghee, curd, honey, sugar etc. On this occasion, the deity is invoked in the form of the Kirtimukh Bhairava, stationed on the southern direction of the courtyard and on that particular spot, a goat is also sacrificed in the name of the deity. The ritual of offering Mahabhoga is accomplished in accordance with the *tantra* tradition.
 - (b) On each Sunday before dawn during the month of Pausa, the lord is offered *khichadi*. The regular morning worship is stopped on the day when the *khichadi* is offered.
 - (c) On each year during the 14th day of the waning moon on the month of Kartik

(Balachaturdashi) and on the 8th day of the waxing moon on the month of Mangsir (Mukhoastami), the deity is worshipped in the form of the Buddha assuming Him as the Buddha's emanation.

- (d) On the special days of Bala Chaturdashi, Haritalika and Shivaratri a large number of people congregate in the area of the Pashupatinath. On these auspicious days, special worshipping procedures are conducted on this temple.
- (e) A special worship is conducted in the temple of Daxinamurti, the guru of the deity on Teacher's Day. On behalf of the Pashupatinath, many types of sweets and fruits are carried to this temple and are offered to Shri Daxinamurti. The temple of the axinamurti is situated on the western side and about two hundred metres away from the courtyard of the Pashupatinath. The Rajopadhayas, the Brāhmins residing at Kathmandu, serve in this temple as the priests.

Provision for Guthis (Trusts): Guthi lands have been allotted from time immemorial for conducting regular and specific worshippings of the pashupatinath. There is a provision of Shri Pashupatinath Bhandar Tahabil office within the area of the deity. The main function of this office is to collect and acquire the crops and the revenues deriving from guthi lands. Similarly, Shri Amalkot Khchahari office is also in existence. The main function of this office is to settle disputes of guthi lands and to dispense justice on the issues arising within the area of the deity. Both these offices are under the jurisdiction of the chief priest of the deity. The chief priest is authorised to use his special powers to settle the disputes arising out of the land. If someone attempts to own the land illegally within the periphery of the deity or the land owned by the deity, he can exercise his power and confiscate the guthi land or order penalties against the law breakers. In addition to these offices, His Majesty's Government has set up Shri Pashupati Goshwara, a branch office of the Guthi Sansthan. The duty of this office is to supplement worshipping duties and to supervise whether the regular and special worshippings of the deity and of other religious places are conducted properly or not.

Tantric Seat: The Pashupatinath temple is one of the most prominent Tantric seats of Nepal. The worshipping procedures of this temple are followed under Shaiva Tantra and they are carried on by the priests initiated by Pashupatastra in a nation (ॐ) As Shaiva Tantras are based on Kaula (hereditary) tradition, it is natural that the priests of this temple should be a married one, to say in other words, accompanied by shakti or wife. On most of the Shaiva temples in India like the Shankaracharya peeths of Kanchi Kamakoti, Sringeri etc. the priest or a pontiff is a celibate or a Sannyasin. But this tradition is not applied in this temple. It is said that the Shankaracharya Jayendra Saraswati, pontiff of Kanchi Kamakotipeeth, had attempted to enter the inner sanctum of this temple some time back and to propitiate the deity from inside. At that time the present chief priest Shri Padam Nabha Adiga did not permit him to do so because he was not initiated in Kaula tradition.

If the nation Nepal undergoes suffering because of the natural calamities and catastrophes like drought, famine, deluge epidemics, landslide etc., the priests of the temple can perform special Pujas (worshipping procedures) so that they be controlled. As regards such pujas, the Lalmohars (Royal Sealed letters), the Tadpatras (Royal Directives) and the

Sanads (Royal orders) have elaborated a lot.

Sometime ago, the image of the Pashupatinath was taken as the image of the Uchistha Bhairab in stead of the image of the Shiva. At that time, impure things were thrown or heaped around it. But this tradition was checked after the Adi Shāṅkarāchārya's visit to Nepal. He had maintained the tradition of worshipping the deity in accordance with the Vedic tradition. Elaborating about this significant task, Swami Apurbananda writes: "Some days after this event, it was heard from others that the worshippings in the Pashupatinath temple in Nepal has been controlled. The Hindu deity is being neglected because of the Buddhist influence. The sanctity of the temple is being destroyed. The followers of another faiths are throwing impure materials into the inner sanctum and thus defiling the temple."

The souvenir magazine "Kanchiyil 88" refers the visit of the Adi Shāṅkarāchārya to Nepal and writes: "Moving eastward along the mountainous tracts, the Bhagvatpada entered the country of Nepal and spent much time there, putting down the heretic sects. He paid homage to Guhyeshvari and Pancamuka-Pasupatinatha at the capital and consecrated the Vara Sphatika Linga in the temple of Pashupatinath."

Numerous scholars have traced that it is the Adi Shāṅkarāchārya who maintain the tradition of worshipping the Pashupatinath temple by the brahmins of Tailangana. But it was not a task which could possibly be carried on at that time. Hence it can be said that it is the Shāṅkarāchārya of Amardak Agni Math, visiting Nepal in 1199, who had maintained this tradition. It becomes much more specific and clear if the Lalmohars, the Tadpatras, the Sanads and equally the directives expounded by the Shāṅkarāchārya, which highlight on the procedures and rituals of the worshipping are gone through.

On a certain occasion, the nation has had ■ face ■ serious drought and the deity was invoked in accordance with the tantric procedures as prescribed in the Lalmohars, Tadpatras etc. Referring about the effective result brought about by this invocation Mr. Sanadhya writes: "There was no rainfall in the year 1964 A.D. Due to the scarcity of the water, all the rivers and the ponds were dried up. Consequently, the people had to face the problem of drinking water. Fear and threat were heard from all the quarters. A scanty of water was supplied through the government water spouts of Kathmandu. Soldiers were sent to guard the water spouts. No one was allowed to fetch more than a pitcher of water. The government and the people were utterly helpless. On that crucial juncture, there was no other option than to seek refuge in the Pashupatinath. After propitiating the blissful deity, they determined to fill the inner sanctum of the temple with water with a view to please the deity. The Bagmati river was completely dry. While replacing sands from the midst of the river, they finally traced out a small source of water a few hours exertion. The devotees lined up from the midst of the Bagmati river to each staircase of the temple finally reaching to the interior court. Passing the copper and brass pitchers from one hand to another, all were engaged in the task of filling the inner sanctum with water. Thousands of devotees extended their helping hands chanting the words 'Oh Lord Mahadev, give us the water'. As soon as a certain portion of the Śivalinga in the inner sanctum was drowned into water, black clouds were seeing in the key and there was torrential rain. During that night, there was such a heavy rainfall that on the next day the rivers of Bagmati and Bishnumati were filled up with water and the suffering of the people ended."

Sanctity of Paśupati Area : The site where the Pashupatinath has made His abode is known as Pashupati area. This site is hallowed by the presence of many other gods and goddesses too. That is why, this site is known as Deopatan or the garden of gods. As regards the sanctity of this site, not merely the Himbatkhanda, the Nepal Mahatmya, the Pashupati Purana, the scriptures available in Nepal, but equally the Hindu mythologies have highlighted very highly.

In the renowned city of Nepal is enshrined the Shivalinga of the Upper part (world) named as Pashupati, the bestower of all cherished desires.

The Śiva Purāṇa

Not a Jyotirlinga : Lord Shiva, in the form of the linga, has made His abode on so many places for the welfare of all the beings. Manifold myths are available as regards the manifestation of the shivalingas wherever the devotees propitiated Him. The Śhivalinga of the Pashupatinath can also be taken as concrete evidence while judging from mythological viewpoints. A lot of devotees take the Śhivalinga of the Pashupatinath as the Jyotirlinga or luminous phallus. But the Śhiva Purāṇa, the greatest text on the glorification of Lord Shiva, has made no mention of this linga as Jyotirlinga. It has taken the other twelve Śhivalingas as jyotirlingas. Although the name of this linga is not incorporated in the lineage of twelve jyotirlingas, it cannot be said that this Śhivalinga has occupied an ordinary position only in the Hindu world.

Development Activities in Paśupati Area : The Paśupati area is a very sacred religious site of Nepal enlisted in the World Heritage List. This area represents one of the most important religious and cultural sites of all the Hindus of the world. Unlike the Delphi Area of Greece and other historical places of the past, this area has not remained simply as the dead ruins. The religious and cultural traditions of this area are being conducted daily as live traditions. Hence it is the utmost duty of all of the Nepalese people that they should lay emphasis upon the development activities of this area in a grand manner.

With a view to make solid contributions in the development activities of this area, manifold committees have been constituted since a few decades back. These committees have, although within limitation, made enough contributions in the sphere of construction and development activities. In spite of all these facts it cannot be said that this area has been developed in a proper manner. The reason behind it is that to undertake development activities in this area in a solid manner is not an easy going task. While undertaking solid development activities it is necessary that some cultural or religious materials are to be broken and some to be replaced on another places. While undergoing these activities it is sure that the people may voice against such activities. Equally it is to be said that the committees of the past have been constituted within a limited status. Hence it is not unnatural that they have not been able to make comprehensive programmes thinking from a broad spectrum.

Keeping all these difficulties in mind, a grand trust comprising specialists from various spheres has been organised about a few years back under the chairmanship of Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah. The name of the trust is Pashupati Development Trust. The trust has succeeded in making a comprehensive master plan for the development

of this area thinking from a multi-dimensional approach. Similarly, it has also been successful in raising abundant donations which are a must for every kind of development activities. In this way, the infrastructure has been set up for the development of this area in a comprehensive way. And it is expected that the trust will make a grand contribution in the construction and development of this area.

Significance of the Paśupatināth : While thinking generally, the term Pashupati refers to the words 'the lord of beasts.' The Paśupatināth, in this way, is the supreme lord of beasts. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa has used the term Pashupati to mean Rudra one of the aspects of the Shiva and has kept the beasts under His patronage and guardianship. While judging from this approach, the meaning of the term the Pashupatinath as the supreme lord of beasts is justified. A few lines from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa are quoted here for the perusal of the readers:

"Now, salutation to the Rudra in the Paśupati's form. Rudra provides food to the beasts. For this reason, Rudra is the lord of beasts. Rudra brings up the beasts with inspiration. In other words, Rudra is the god of beasts in reality. That is why He (Rudra) is the lord of them (beasts)? 5.3.3.7."

The *Jatilya Upaniṣad* has taken all the beasts as the beings (jiva) and compared all the ignorant beings with the beasts. Some of the definitions of the beasts as mentioned in this Upaniṣad run as follows:

"Due to ignorance the Paśupati assumes himself the form of beings. He becomes a beast because of His mingling with five elements. The being becomes a beast due to its birth. God is the lord of beasts because of His mastery over the beings. All the living creatures, among whom are the grass-eater, unwitty and who are engaged in cultivation etc., endurer of all the troubles,—are all the beasts like the cows, the slaves of the master. The god is their master."

In a similar manner, the *Śiva Purāṇa* traces the attributes of the image of the Pashupati quite distinct from that of the Shiva's other eight images and mentions: The Shiva in the form of the master of all the souls and the liberator of all the beasts of the earth from the bondage of sufferings is known as the Paśupati.

While judging from these standpoints all the living beings, appearing in this earth, are seen as the beasts. As they are deluded by the bondage of ignorance, they are the beasts and the main bondage that deludes beings to become beasts is ignorance. The Paśupati is the lord in the form of knowledge which frees the deluded beings from the bondage of ignorance. If we could commune ourselves with the knowledge, the Yoga etc., as taught by the Śiva in the Pashupatinath' form, it is sure the bondage of ignorance is eliminated and we merge in the Śivahood being enlightened. We have not to be dubious about it. Hence it is but the bounden duty of all the mankind to step forward in this direction.

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Punitavatiyār

In the prosperous town, Kāraikkāl belonging to the Cōlā kingdom, there lived many hones, law-abiding, god fearing business people. One Tanatattan was the leader of that business community. Punitavatiyār was born to him as sole heir-apparent. Her beauty was like that of goddess Lakshmi.

Growing like a lovely plant, punitavatiyār had great love for Lord Śiva. Even while playing with her little girl friends she was repeating the names of Śiva. She used to pay respect and worship devotees whenever she saw them.

When Punitavatiyār come to age, a prominent business man by name Nitipati of Nāgappattinam sought her as bride for his son *Paramatatta*. Elders of both the families met and settled the marriage. The marriage was celebrated as per vedice rites in the presence of relatives and friends. Here Cēkkilār compares the bride to a peacock and the bridegroom to a bull. (*i.e.* ill-matched as per astrology).

Married Life of a Punitavatiyār After the marriage, Punitavatiyār, being his only daughter, Tanatattan did not allow the couple to go to Nagapattinam. Instead he made them stay in Kāraikkāl and provided all comforts and facilities to the couple.

Paramatattan stayed in Kāraikkāl with great pleasure and with growing love towards his life-partner lived a happy domestic life. His business also was prospering. Punitavatiyār showed constant love for God Śiva was also leading a domestic life. She took pleasure in feeding Śaivite saints and giving them clothes.

As the couple was living happily in this fashion, one day a business friend of Paramatattan gave him two mangoes. Paramatattan sent the fruits to his wife through his servant. Punitavatiyār received them and kept them. A little later a hungry Śaivite Saint came to her house. As she had not then prepared side-dishes, she served rice and one of the two mangoes. The saint old in age and very hungry, ate the rice with the tasty mango fruit and left her house blessing her.

A little later, her husband Paramatattan came for lunch. Punitavatiyār served rice and vegetable curry with remaining mango fruit. Paramatattan, much pleased with taste of the mango fruit, asked her to bring the other fruit also. For a moment she was perplexed and went in as if to bring the other fruit. She thought of the sacred feet of Lord Śiva and

for a while was weary in her spirit. By the grace of Lord Śiva, a very sweet mango-fruit was placed in her hands. Happily praising Lord Śiva for his grace toward her, she gave that fruit to her husband. He ate it and found ■ sweeter than the other fruit. This fruit is like sacred ambrosia. This is not the mango fruit I sent you. You cannot get a fruit like this in all the three worlds. From where did you get this? He asked her.

For a moment Punitavattiyār was dazed and fear-stricken. She thought it best to speak the truth as it was her duty to do so; she told him what had happened actually, all the while thinking of the grace of Lord Śiva.

Paramatattan refusing to believe her, asked here to bring another fruit if the previous fruit was given by Lord Śiva. Punitavattiyār going inside again appealed to Lord Śiva thus, "If you do not bless me with another fruit, what I have told my husband just now becomes false." Again by the grace of Śiva she got another fruit in her hands. She gave it to her husband. He received the mango fruit with much surprise, but the fruit disappeared from his hands immediately. On seeing this Paramatattan trembled with fear. He thought that Punitavattiyār who has received the grace of God was not a human-being but a heavenly being and thinking like this he was struck with fear. He decided that it was no longer possible for him to live with her an ordinary domestic life. Without revealing his mental reaction to her or anyone he left on a voyage saying that he wanted to do good business and earn wealth from abroad.

As he desired, he toured abroad, and earning good money there, he boarded ship again and settled in a town in Pāṇṭiya kingdom. After making friendship with people there, he married again a beautiful lady from his community and led a peaceful domestic life. Then he got a female child. He named the child as Punitavati by way of giving respect to his first wife at Kārrikkāl.

Attaining Celestial Life

Punitavattiyār continued to live in Kārrikkāl expecting the return of her husband. After sometime her relatives heard about Paramatattan's married life with another lady. They thought it proper to take Punitavattiyār ■ her husband and leave her there. Taking Punitavati with them, they reached Paramatattan's place and sent for him conveying the news of their arrival. On hearing this, Paramatattan got frightened. Somehow comforting himself he came to them with the second wife and child. He fell at the feet of Punitavattiyār and said, "I have been living because of your grace to me and hence I have given your name to my child". So saying, again he fell at her feet. Punitavattiyār shocked by this action, was standing near her relatives. Her people not understanding his peculiar behaviour towards Punitavati, asked him the reason for his action. He said to them, "she is not a human-being. She is goddess, to whom you should also give respect. On knowing this fact I left her and for this child I gave her name. Like me you must also worship this lady".

On hearing her husband speaking like this, Punitavattiyār worshipped the feet of Lord Śiva in her mind and appealed to him to take away her physical frame which was

united in wed-lock to Paramatattan and bless her with the form of a ghost. Her prayers were answered and in front of the relatives and friends she got the form of a ghost. Relatives wondered and worshipped her in fear and left that place.

Punitavatiyār who got a ghostly form by the grace of God says with joy, I also became one of the ghosts worshipping ever the lotus Feet of Lord Śiva. So saying she sang wonderful Tiruantati. Then praising the qualities of Lord Śiva she sang Tiru-Iraṭṭai-Manikmālai.

Ever growing in devotion, she started journeying towards Tiruk-kailai, the abode of Lord Śiva. Those who saw her went away from her in fear. But she thought thus; "It is sufficient if my Lord knows me, when these people do not know the truth of my having become ghost by the grace of Lord Śiva, yet may be seen in any form". So thinking she crossed many northern states and turned her steps to Kailas, and reached it. Not willing to place her feet on the sacred place, she moved along on her head.

When she thus reached the top of the mountain, Goddess, Umā wondered and asked Lord Śiva about the approaching figure's infinite love towards him. Lord Śiva said, "she is our devotee. She got ghostly form by my grace on her request to me".

When Punitavatiyār, in ghostly form reached him, Lord Śiva called her Ammai meaning mother. With joy she cried oh! Father! fell at his feet and worshipped him. From that moment, Punitavatiyār came to be known as the Mother of Karaikkāl. The Lord asked her what boon she wanted from him. She pleaded with god, Oh Lord I pray for constant devotion to you. I must not have birth again, and if I am to be born again, then I must be granted remembrance of you without lapse. I wish to stay at your feet always witnessing your cosmic dance.

Lord Śiva granted her wishes and said that in Tiru-Alaṅkāṭu she would see his dance can remain singing happily about him for ever. Accordingly she reached that place Tiru-Alaṅkāṭu by walking on her head. Seeing the celestial dance of the Lord, she sang a patikam (decade) beginning with the words Koṅkai tiraṅki. Enjoying the dance of the Lord and growing in devotion she sang another Patikam, beginning with the words Eṭṭi elavam. How to praise Punitavatiyār who was called as mother by Lord Śiva, the Father and Mother of all creation, and who was blessed to be at the lotus feet of Lord Śiva for ever witnessing his divine dance? None can describe her ardent love towards Lord Śiva.

Pattisvaram : Dhenupurisvara Temple

Śakti, the Divine Mother, was impelled by a proclivity to perform a penance in seclusion. She choose a serene and sequestered spot for that purpose, Kamadhenu, the celestial cow of plenty, delegated her daughter Patti to assist the Goddess in the performance of the penance. Accordingly Patti went to the jungle and rendered her services to the Goddess. Immensely gratified with the penance, Shiva appeared before Parvathi and blessed her. Patti desired to follow the footsteps of the Goddess. She gathered some sand and shaped it into a Liṅga. Patti proffered worship to the Liṅga, adhering punctiliously to the principles laid down in the Agamas. She anointed the Liṅga with milk and bathed it in the sacred waters of the Ganga Vavi (pond). Shiva gave darshan to Patti and assented to reside in the liṅga eternally. The place came to be known as Pattisvaram; the Lord was called Pattisvarar. Pattisvaram is a village lying at a distance of 10 kilolometres from Kumbakonam.

Pattisvaram had its links with the life of the child-prodigy and hyperlexic, Tirugnanasambander. The youthful Śaivite saint was in the habit of visiting the hallowed shrines. In the august company of other dedicated Śaivites, Sambandar was on his way to Pattisvaram to offer his obeisance to Pattisvarar. The summer had reached its peak. The sweltering heat of the sun seemed to have sapped his energy. Lord Shiva wanted to relieve his devotee of the agony. Under his behests, the boothaganas held a canopy of pearls over the head of the Savant, as he marched on with his followers. This is another instance of the solicitious compassion of the Lord to His devotee. Shiva himself wanted to have a glimpse of the spectacle of the devotee, walking under the aegis of the pearl-set umbrella. He graciously bade the Nandi, lying before him to move aside and manifested Himself to the devotee. The child, who had the experience of a gnosis, prostrated on the ground and offered a decad in honour of Pattisvarar. The event is commemorated every year in the Muthupandal festival, celebrated in the Tamil month of Aṇi (June-July).

The temple of Pattisvarar presents a magnificent sight with five lovely gopurams and three *prakaras*. It measures 650 feet east to west and 295 feet South to North. Pattisvara, the Presiding deity manifests himself in the form of a Liṅga, in the central mantap of the First Prakara. He is also known as Pattiappar and Dhenupurisvara.

Subsidiary deities like Saptha Kanniar, Mahalakshmi, Natraja, Renukadevi, Navagraha, Sūrya, Chandra and Bairavar are housed in the inner parts of the temple. Ganapathy is represented at three different places under different names-Anugnai Pillayar, Madhavarana Pillayar and Swarna Vinayagar. In another shrine Shanmuga accompanied by Valli and Deivayanai, bless his devotees. Exquisite metal images of Sambandar, Vinayagar, Som Askandar, Subramanya, Chandrasekara, etc. are houses inside the temple. In the northern part of the first Prakara, Goddess Gnanambigai gives darshan, in a separate shrine. The divine consort is also known as palvalainayagi. A sculpture of Parvathi, performing a penance is found in the temple. She is known as Thapas Amman.

The shrine of Goddess Durga, located near the Northern entrance, draws a large number of pilgrims. On Tuesdays and Fridays, scores of pilgrims throng the sanctum of the Goddess to offer their prayers to this Boon giver. She is popularly known as Kottai Vayil Durgai (Durgai of the Fortress-gate). It is believed that she was the guardian of the Chōla Fortress of the yester-years. The sculpture of Durga has been chiselled with a high sense of aestheticism.

The sthala purana associates Rama with this place. It is believed that Rama, after worshipping Shiva at Rameswaram, installed another *linga* at Pattisvaram and tendered photograph of Rama has found a place in the temple. Kodi Theertham or Garuda Theertham, believed to have been engendered by the tip of Rama's bow, has taken the form of a well and is situated in the First Prakara. This event forms a part of the festival conducted on the Margazhi-Amavasai day.

Medhavi Rishi led an austere life in his Ashram located at a place called Dharmapuram in Malavanad. Prachetha Muni his bosom friend, had commissioned him to attend a Yaga. Medhavi entrusted the hermitage to his disciple Dharmasena. On his return, Medhavi found that the cows belonging to the Ashram has languished for want of proper food. The chagrined *rishi* cursed his disciple to become a dog. The crestfallen disciple sought forgiveness earnestly. Dharmasena was instructed to journey to Devi Vana and worship Pattisvara, where he got back in original form.

Chitrasena, the benevolent ruler of Kampili had no male issue. A sage named Haridasa, had advised him to perform a Puthrakameshti Yaga. In accordance with his counsel, the ruler performed a stupendous Yagna. Shiva appeared incognito and offered him some medicine. Chitrasena's wife, after taking that medicine, gave birth to a Son. The ruler was overwhelmed with joy. He celebrated a Brahmotsavam on a grand scale, in honour of Pattisvara.

Madavalli, a courtesan who had her abode in this part of the country, taught her parrot to chant the *panchatshara mantra*. By the grace of the Almighty, both Madavalli and her parrot attained salvation. Sathyumnan, a local chieftain was plagued by *Brahm ahatti dosha*. On the advice of elders, he offered his prayers to Pattisvara and was absolved of his sin. the local chronicle states that Sage Viswamitra was blessed with the title Brahmārishi at Pattisvaram.

The hallowed sthala has three sacred Theerhas. A dip in this tank on the Purnai day of Vaikasi month is supposed to be a panacea for all ills. Kodi Theertham, a well,

found in the first *prakara* of the temple, was formed by Rama's bow. A pond called Tapas Keni is located in front of the Tapas Amman's shrine. A teppakulam found in front of the main tower will be a scene of the annual teppotsavam. Gayathri tank, situated to the east of the temple, was originated by Viswamitra. Tirumalairayan rivulet, a tributary of the Cauvery, flowing near the temple, is also regarded a holy Theertham.

The Lord of Pattisvara is lauded in the decade of Tiruganan Sambandar, who lived in the Seventh Century. Pattisvaram formed a part of Palayarat or Mudikonda Chalapuram, which was the capital of the Chôlā country in its halcyon days. Some inscriptions found in the temple contain reference to the improvements effected by the Vijayanagara and the Nayak rulers. An inscription of Virapratapadeva (Saka year 1199) records the grant of land for the construction of a mantap and tank. An epigraph dated Saka 1137 of Viradeva Maharayar alludes to the grant of 91/2 vell lands for renovation of parts of the temple. An inscription incised in the days of the Nayaks of Tanjore refers to the settlement of dispute between two leading communities. Reference to the sacred mutts named after Tirugnanasambandar, Appar, and tirumoolar are also found in the epigraph. Pattisvaram is referred to as Palayarat Malapadi.

Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai, the author of a sthalapurana, has composed a work on Pattisvaram, many another version of the Sthalapurana, consisting of twelve parts, is extant. Swamimalai Balasubramania Desigar has composed a decad in praise of Durgai Amman.

Poojas are performed six times a day by Śivacharyas, adhering meticulously to the Agama Sastras. Valkasi Visakha festival, Ani Muthupandal festival and Marghazhi Amavasya festival are celebrated with eclat. During the Ani festival five miracles pertaining to the life of Tirugnana Sambandar are commemorated. Monthly festivals like Adipooram, Vinayaka Chathurthi, Navarathri, Karthigai, Tiruvaditai, Pongal and Panguni Uthiram are also conducted with the cooperation of the public.

Govinda Dikshitar, who served as a minister under Achuta Nayak and Ragunatha Nayak, the rulers of Tanjore in the 16th Century, lived in a palatial house at Pattisvaram, the remnants of which are even now believed to exist. This versatile genius and erudite scholar composed *aritanisa* Saracharitam and Sangita Sudhanidhi (a treatise on music). He is credited with the construction and repairation of the Amman Shrine of this temple. The sculptures of Dikshitar and his wife, holding their hands in adoration, are found in a mantap in front of the Amman Shrine.

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Pillayarpatti Temple

It is a custom among the Hindu to offer their obeisance to Vinayaka before embarking upon any new project; however small it may be in magnitude. 'Ganapathyam', one of the six divisions of Hinduism, regards Ganesa as the Omnipotent God who created the Universe and the whole living organism. It was he who created Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva, to perform the duties of creation, protection and destruction. Among the eighteen puranas, Bhargava Purāṇa glorifies the qualities of Vigneswara. It narrates the great deeds performed by Ganesa to root out the evil and to confer happiness and prosperity on the faithful.

A spicy anecdote recorded in our Purāṇas, amply illustrates the significance of offering prayers to Ganesa before launching upon any new venture. Three demons, Dharukataha, Kamalaksha and Vidyunmali had acquired three huge, mobile forts made of gold, silver and iron. Flushed with the triumph that crowned their endeavours they inflicted untold atrocities upon the inhabitants of the Universe. Lord Shiva essayed a mammoth expedition to annihilate the demons. However, he failed to offer his prayers to Vinayaka before moving his chariot. The axle of his chariot collapsed as soon as the vehicle moved a few yards. Having realised the cause of this debacle, Shiva offered worship to Ganesa; only then did the chariot move.

Almost all the temples possess the idol of Lord Vigneswara. In most of the temples he is found near the entrance. Many of them have separate shrines in which he is housed. Roadside shrines consisting of a small pedestal on which Ganesa's figures are seated, are found in every nook and corner of our country. Even in Vaishnav temples he is worshipped as Visvaksexnar or Senai Mudaliar. Such is the prominence given to the most favourite deity of the Hindu Pantheon. A village located in South Tamilnadu is named after him. This tiny village of Pillayarpatti is located in the recently formed district named after Pasumpon Muthuramalingam. It lies on the main road connecting Karaikudi and Tiruppathur and hence it is well served by bus. The village would boast of the famous temple in which the earliest known sculpture of Vinayaka in South India is enshrined. The village has to its credit eleven names in addition to Pillayarpatti.

The rock-cut cave is located close to the Northern foot of the hillock. A beautiful reservoir with coconut all around and lying in front of the temple, presents a picturesque setting. Two Rajagopurams and a few lovely Vimanas, add splendour to the temple. Entering though the small *gopuram*, one can have a glimpse of Karpaga Pillayar, or Desi Vinayaka Pillayar, the presiding deity of the temple. The temple has two Sannidhis for Shiva and his consort. Adjoining the shrine of Vinayaka, Tiruvlsar or Tiruvengaikudi Mahadevar occupies a shrine which faces east. Another shrine of Śiva was added a few centuries later. It consists of a *sanctum sanctorum*, a *mahamantapam* and a *mukha mantapam*. An imposing gopuram of seven tiers adorns the main entrance to this shrine. In this structural temple, Lord Shiva gives darshan. His nomenclature is Marudheesar or Thirumarudangudi Nayanar. There are separate shrines for the two divine consorts, Meenakshi Amman and Vadamalar Mangal.

The majestic figure of Vinayaka is a splendid bas-relief work, six feet high and five feet broad. It is situated on the southern wall of the rock-cut cave that faces North. This sculpture has several iconographic features of distinction. Normally Ganesa is represented with four arms; here he has only two arms. The left arm is placed on the waist, while the right hand holds a *modhaka* (an eatable made of rice and regarded a favourite of Vinayaka). The trunk is curled on the right, as in the case of early Vinayaka sculptures and so he is called Valampuri Vinayakar. Another significant feature here is that the *Upavita* or the holy thread is conspicuous by its absence. Instead of the snake, he wears the *Udharabhand*, which is represented by three bands. His broad ears opened wide. He is seated in the *Ardha-Padmasana* pose (one leg laid on the other thigh). He is known by nine different names.

There is an interesting panel on the same wall. A unique image flanked by two attendants on both sides presents a challenge to the archeologist. The figure is in a *Sambhanga* (straight standing) pose. This two-armed image wears a high *Jatamakuta* (headdress). The left hand rests on the hip, in the *Katyavalambita* position, while the opened right-hand shows the 'Varada' gesture of boon-giving. The *yajnopavita* is thick and looks like a rounded garland. It is taken over the right hand and across the shoulder. The treatment of the lower garment is rather heavy and a median loop is visible in the centre. The waist band is shown only on the right side. In the absence of any distinguishing marks, the identification of the figure becomes a knotty problem. Scholars have given a free vent to their imagination and various theories have been propounded.

Some have identified the figure as that of mahendra Varma, I. the great ruler of Pallava dynasty, who ushered in an era of prosperity. Under his aegis, temples were constructed out of rocks and in caves. On the basis of this identification, the excavation of this cave has been ascribed to the Pallavas. Another opinion credits Narasimha Varma (630-68), (the son and the successor of Mahendra Varma) the Vanquisher of Vatapi, the Capital of the Western Chalukyan Ruler Pulakesi, with the construction of this temple. It states that Narasimha Varma directed his artisans to carve out the image of Lord Ganesa and a *lingam* (Tiruvlsar), with himself in between the two. These theories have been

repudiated by history. It is an accepted fact that Pallava hegemony did not go beyond Trichy. Absence of Pallava inscription in the region beyond Trichy testifies to this fact.

Other have suggested that the figure represent Subramanya, but this theory does not seem to hold water. The figure bears resemblance to Sankarranarayanar or Harihara. Dr. Nagaswamy, the former Director of the State Department of archaeology has asserted that it represents Harihara. In view of the extant evidences this theory seems to be the most plausible one. The right side of the crown reveals a lovely Jatamakuta (high piled hair), while the left side has an elegant Krita.

Normally Harihara is depicted differently in ancient sculptures. He has four arms; the right upper hand wields the Parasu (battle-axe), while the upper left hand holds a chakra; the right leg wears a tiger's skin which reaches up to the middle of the thigh; the left leg has a silken garment reaching to the ankle. In some sculptures he is represented with a lower garment, which is treated alike on both the sides.

At Pillayarpatthi, he wears a lower garment that extends up to the ankle. It is treated alike on both the sides. The difference in the two sides of the head-dress is well-pronounced. The Udarabhandas are shown only round the right-half. Harihara has only two arms, which do not hold any emblem. All these facts prove beyond any iota of doubt that the sculpture represents Harihara.

The two attendants of Harihara are likely to be the Garuda and Chandikeswara. Garuda is represented on the left side. He does not possess wings or the pointed beak; he holds the arms close to the chest; in a state of reverence. Such representations of Garuda are not uncommon in early South Indian sculptures. It is generally expected that the right side figure would be none other than Nandi. Here it is Chandikeswara, the humble devotee of Lord Shiva, who is eternally in a state of penance. As early as the XI century, all the transactions of the temple were carried on in his name. In this temple he is seen in the standing posture (Chandesanthikamurthi). This rare panel of two worshippers combined with the dual image of Harihara is unprecedented in South Indian Sculptures.

Another sculpture on the side wall of the sanctum provides interesting feature. It is a two armed figure, with the arms holding the same positions as that of Harihara. Only the portion up to the waist of this figure is depicted. The lower portion shows the outline of a pillar. This figure is none other than lingodbhavamurthi (Śiva manifested in the līṅga). Normally in these figures, the top of the līṅga is carved with the swan of Brahmā and the boar of Viṣṇu. Here those two emblems do not find a place. The head of Śiva is crowned with a Jatamakuta.

The Garbagriha or the Sanctum Sanctorum is located by the side of the Harihara panel, in an east-facing position. It is in the Gajaprashta (apsidal) form, named so because it looks like the back of the seated elephant. A number of temples constructed at a later period possess this type of Sanctums. But Pillayarpatthi is one of those very few temples where the Gajaprashta type is carved out of a rock. The sivalinga which is found in the Sanctum, is of a rock. This feature is common in Pandya caves, but not in Pallava rock-out shrines. Normally the outerwalls of the Garbagriha are adorned by figures like Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Such figures are carved out in niches and are known as Devagoshtas. Here

such figures are absent. Three majestic pillars, square at the top and the bottom, and Octogonal at the centre add beauty to the cave-temple. The Octogonal portion possesses intricate representations of lotus petals.

The temple came under the control of the Nagarattars or the Nattukkottai Chettians in the XIII century. A community of merchants, these people have done remarkable service to Hindu temples both in India and in East Asian countries. They have caused the renovation of dilapidated temples which were in ruins and have munificently gifted jewels and lands for their maintenance. This community has also lavished wealth upon the temple at Pillayarpatthi. Vimanas and Copurams were constructed to beautify the temple; a number of choultries and rest-houses were constructed to facilitate the hosts of pilgrims who attend the festivals. The temple was renovated periodically and *kumbhabishickhanas* were performed on 22-11-1899, 10-2-1928, 12-6-1933, 10-2-1951, 10-9-1976 and 8-11-1992.

The temple abounds in inscriptions which have been written on the pillars and on the walls of the cave. They throw valuable light on the history and the administration of the temple. Among the rulers who have found a place in the inscriptions, mention could be made of Sreevallabha, Thevar (1109-1116), Vikrama Pandya Thevas (1180-90), Konerinmaikondan, Kulothunga Chōlān III (1178-1223), Sundarapandya Thevar (1216-38) and Kulasekhara Thevar (1266-1314). An inscription found on a pilaster, on the left side of the Sanctum is a landmark in South Indian History. It mentions one 'Ikkathuru Kotturu Arinjan', who was probably responsible for the excavation of the temple. There are two views regarding the character of the script. One opinion regards it as archaic Vattalethu character of the VIII century. Another view holds that it is akin to the Brahmin script found in caves belonging to the II and III century. The village was first known as Ikkattur; subsequently it was renamed Tiruvingaikudi of Kalkundram in Keralasinga Valanadu. In Chōlā times a colony of Nagarattar sprang up with the name Rajanarayanapuram.

Sundarapandya seems to be an ardent devotee of the Lord as revealed by his three visits to this temple. An officer of the same king instituted the Gangeyan Sandhi, a service named after him. Lands were gifted for special worship on the Sivarathri day, in the same period. In the reign of Vikrama Pandya, two metal images of Goddesses were consecrated to both Lords as Palliarai Nachiaris. Tax free land was gifted for providing offering of pittu and panikaaram every Sunday to Desiga Vinayaka. In the reign of Kulasekharadeva.

Desiga Vinayaka is worshipped by devotees from far and near, as a great boon-giver. Today the temple remains spic and span. Poojas are performed five times a day by Brāhmin priests belonging to the Sivachariar community. It is administered by Hindu Religious and Endowments Board. The temple possesses a number of Panchalokha idols, some of which were discovered accidentally from a well in 1899. During the Moslem invasions, they were buried in the well, fearing desecration at the hands of the marauders. The temple occupies an area of 14 cents.

Vinayaka Chathurthi is celebrated with great splendour. The festival takes place for 10 days. The festival is heralded even ten days before the Chathurthi day, with the flag

hoisting ceremony. Every evening the Utsavar is taken round in Vahanas like bandicoot, lion, Bhutam, Rishabam, Lotus, Elephant, peacock and horse. On the ninth day he rides on the chariot. On the Chathurthi day, thousands of devotees observe fast. Women devotees carry the silver idol of Ganesa in a pot of water. It is firmly believed that such acts of devotion, culminate in the fulfilment of their desires.

A number of other festivals are also celebrated with eclat. Tiruvadirai festival takes place for 10 days. On the auspicious day, Natarajar and Śivakami are taken round in procession. On that day the accounts relating to the landed property of the temple are read out in public. This custom is based on the belief that Lord Shiva, after a feigned separation became reconciled to his consort, after having revealed the details of his property. Navarathri and Karthigai Deepam are also celebrated with a great deal of enthusiasm. The idol of Kongu Nachiamman, the local deity of this village has found a place in the Vinayaka temple. A ten-day festival is celebrated in honour of this deity in Vaikasi. The two small temples dedicated to Kongu Nachiamman and Aiyandar come under the purview of this temple. A small rock-cut temple dedicated to Vinayaka is located to the South of this temple. It is named as Gorakka Vinayakar. In honour of its founder Gorakka, a famous Siddhar.

A number of modern scholars have composed verses lauding the benevolent qualities of the Lord. Kariakudi Ganesan has written the history of the temple in Tamil. He has also sung a few hymns in honour of Vinayaka. Vidwan Govindaswamy Iyer of Madurai Tamil Sangam, Karaikudi R.M.S. Chockalingam and the Late Kavignar, Kannadasan the poet-Laureate of the Government, of Tamilnad have also extolled the qualities of Karpaga Vinayakar, in poems.

The Pīṭha System of Classification

The word "*Pīṭha*", in a non-technical sense, means a stool, seat or bench and, by extension, the pedestal upon which an idol is installed. In the Tantras it commonly means a sacred place. In this present context, however, it means a "collection", or "aggregate" (*saṃūha*) with reference to a group of scriptures and so denotes a class of Āgamas. It is also signifies range of matters that, taken collectively, concern a single Tantric topic. The two usages of the word are closely related: sometimes one applies, sometimes the other and, occasionally, both. In order to understand how the *pīṭha* system of classification works, we should first distinguish these two uses of the word. In order to do so, before we attempt to outline the contents of the *pīṭhas* understood as categories of scriptures, let us see what *pīṭha* means as a Tantric topic.

There are four *pīṭhas*, namely, *Vidyā*, *Mantra*, *Mudrā* and *Maṇḍala-pīṭha*. According to the BY, Tantras that concern themselves with one or other of these topics belong to the corresponding *pīṭha*. Abhinava adds that, insofar as the essential contents of the Tantras are basically the same, the ascription of a particular Tantra to one or other of the *pīṭhas* indicates the most dominant feature of its contents. In this sense, therefore, one can say that each *pīṭha* contains all the others. Thus the *maṇḍalapīṭha* is a topic considered separately in its own right in the SYM, and *mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* is the name of the BY, although both Tantras belong to the *Vidyāpīṭha*. Similarly, in the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinava deals with the basic Mantras, Maṇḍalas and Mudrās of Trika Śaivism individually in respectively.

In this way the *pīṭha* division can serve as a device by which a Tantra, although formally affiliated to one or other *pīṭha*, could say that it contains in itself the essential doctrines of all the other Tantras because ■ deals with all these matters. So we find that some Tantras, like the *Svacchanda*, claim that they consist of all four *pīṭhas* and bestow the fruits of them all. We notice this same claim being made in the *Paścimatāntras*. We are told that another name for the goddess Kubjikā is "Samayā" the feminine form of the word "*samaya*" which means rule. As such, she is the Rule that is observed equally in both the Tantras of the Left and Right as well as in all four *pīṭhas*. As *Kuṇḍalinī*, she is the essence

of the Kaula tradition and so that same 'rule' which prevails in all the *pīṭhas*. We do, in fact, come across references to matter drawn from various *pīṭhas* in the *Paścimatāntras*. Thus, for example, the *Kularatnoddyota* contains Mantras described as belonging to the *Mantrapīṭha*. Again, the KMT explains that the *Mudrāpīṭha* is characterized by the joining of the two hands flat together. The left hand symbolizes creation (*sr̥ṣṭr*) and the right, destruction (*saṃhāra*). The union of the two is the 'Kundalini of the Self' which is the Supreme Power, the primordial energy 'Beyond Mind' (*manonmani*). It is the Supreme Gesture (*mudrā*) that brings about universal pervasion, and he who knows it, knows the entire universe. When the hands are joined, the emissive power of consciousness (*visargaśakti*) rises up out of the genital region and comes to reside in the foundation of this Gesture by uniting creation and destruction.

The *pīṭha* classification served an important function in the formation of the Śaivāgamic canon. Affiliated through this system of classification, Tantras not otherwise related could belong together in a group which expressed the coherence of the basic principles they taught. Affiliation to a *pīṭha* was a sign of an alignment not of schools or traditions, but of practice and application of method. Thus Rūpaśiva in his commentary called "*Vidhāna*" on the *Manthānabhairavatantra* which is the root collection (*Mūlasaṅgraha*) of the doctrines of the Kubjikā school, associates the antinomian behaviour prescribed in *Kulācāra* with the *Mudrāpīṭha*. Parts of the Kaula ritual (*kulaprakriyā*) described by Abhinavagupta in of the *Tantrāloka* are ascribed to two traditions (*sampradāya*), one linked to the *Mantra* and *Mudrā pīṭhas* and the other of the *Vidyā* and *Maṇḍala pīṭhas*. The rituals relating to all four *pīṭhas* are described here because, Jayaratha tells us, the scripture in this context is of these four types.

Presumably what Jayaratha means here is that the *pīṭha* classification includes all the Śaivāgama although it refers in a special way to that part it which is Kaula-oriented. Accordingly, in a short tract dealing with Kaula yoga called "*Yogapīṭha*", of which there are early manuscripts in Nepal, the Lord of Kula is adored at the beginning as the consort of the goddess who is the presiding deity of the four *pīṭhas*. It appears, therefore, that in some important aspects the *pīṭha* classification became the focus of a new and higher understanding that an important part of the Śaivāgama had of itself as Kaula-oriented. All the same time it allowed for the existence within this broad system of categorisation for the existence of scriptures which did not expressly consider themselves to be Kaula as such and so served to link the two.

The Tantras of the Four Pīṭhas

We turn not to the second aspect of the *pīṭha* classification, namely, "*pīṭha*" understood as a category of scripture. The BY makes use of this system of classification, integrating it somewhat awkwardly with a division of the scriptures into Left, Right and Middle currents. The BY's account of the *pīṭhas* is sketchy and unsystematic—a sign that this system of classification is still at an early stage in its development. In the JY, on the

other hand, the *pīṭha* classification is well worked out and the contents of each *pīṭha* clearly defined. Indeed, it has developed to such a degree that it has superseded the division into *śrotas*, which is relegated to the level of a secondary, subsidiary classification. A detailed account of the JY's description of the contents of each *pīṭha* is found in Appendix C, to which the reader is referred. Here we shall deal with the basic structure of these *pīṭhas* and how they are related to each other and to other systems of classification.

It appears that the *Vidyāpīṭha* was the most extensive and important of the four *pīṭhas*. Abhinava considered this *pīṭha* to be the highest, after which comes the *Mantrapīṭha* sustained by it. Again, the *Mudrā* division follows the path of *Mantra* and is said to be its reproduced image (*pratīkṛti*), while the *Maṇḍalapīṭha* is the lowest. This is also the order in which they are graded in the BY. The JY deals with the *Mantrapīṭha* first although the contents of the *Vidyāpīṭha* are more extensive.

The *pīṭhas* are also generally linked together in pairs. The BY treats the *Vidyā* and *Mantra pīṭhas* together and similarly considers the *Mudrā* and *Maṇḍala pīṭha* to be a pair. This agrees with Abhinava's exposition of the division of the *pīṭhas* found in the *Ānandaśāstra* which states:

'Pīṭha' [is a term referring] to a class [of Tantras]. It is of two types: right and left, called *Mantra* and *Vidyā* respectively, from which are derived the two associated with *Mudrā* and *Maṇḍala*.

Accordingly, we can represent the four *pīṭhas* schematically as follows. See Figure 38.1.

Figure 38.1. The Four Pīṭhas.



The *Mudrā* and *Maṇḍala pīṭhas* seem to have been the least well defined of the four *pīṭhas*. The BY enumerates the Tantras of the *Vidyā*—and *Mantra*—*pīṭhas* as belonging to the current of the Right but then simply states that the other two *pīṭhas* include all the *Mudrās* and *Maṇḍalas* of the Tantras in all the currents of scripture. Similarly, the JY refers to only one root Tantra in the *Maṇḍalapīṭha* and then simply states that this *pīṭha* is part of the contents of all the *pīṭhas*. The *Mudrāpīṭha* contains only three root Tantras of which one is the *Kubjikāntata*. The *Mantra* and *Vidyā pīṭhas* are thus generally considered to be the most important pair and we shall therefore limit our discussion to them.

The Mantrapīṭha

We start with the *Mantrapīṭha* because it is less extensive than the *Vidyāpīṭha* and is a more compact category. The BY lists seven Tantras belonging to this *pīṭha*: *Vīra*, (Ugra?) *Bhairava*, *Caṇḍabhairava*, *Gudaka*, *Bhairavi* (?); *Mahāvireśa* and *Bhairava*. The BY appears to be uncertain of the contents of this *pīṭha*. It lists two titles that are virtually the same (i.e., *Vīra* and *Mahāvireśa*), and two entries—*Bhairava* and *Bhairavi*—seem to be incomplete. That the *Caṇḍabhairavatantra* is listed here is significant because this Tantra usually belongs to the standard group of eight *Bhairavatantras*, namely, the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* we have already discussed. In fact, it is this group that in the JY comes to constitute the *Mantrapīṭha*. According to the *Sarvavīratāntra*, four of these Tantras belong to the *Mantrapīṭha*, namely the *Svacchanda*, *Caṇḍa*, *Krodha* and *Unmatta*. Kṣemarāja thinks that the *Svacchandatantra* belongs to this *pīṭha* and quotes the *Sarvavīra* as an authority to support this view. The *Svacchanda* itself, incidentally, nowhere aligns itself specifically with any *pīṭha* although it known this system of classification. The JY quotes the *Sarvavīra* and appears to take the lead from this Tantra in its exposition of this *pīṭha*. Thus the JY takes the four Tantras mentioned above as the main Tantras of this *pīṭha* and links them systematically with the remaining four Tantras in the group of eight *Bhairavatantras* thus:

<i>Svacchanda</i>	—	<i>Asitāṅga</i>
<i>Caṇḍa</i>	—	<i>Ruru</i>
<i>Krodha</i>	—	<i>Jhanikāra</i>
<i>Unmatta</i>	—	<i>Kapālīśa</i>

If we place the right-hand column below the left, we have the eight *Bhairavatantras* in the order in which the JY enumerates them. It seems, therefore, that we can trace a line of development here from the BY through the *Sarvavīra* to the JY. These Tantras must, therefore, also succeed each other chronologically.

The Vidyāpīṭha

The *Vidyāpīṭha*, as the JY presents it, virtually contains the three currents of scripture, viz., Left, Right and Middle. The JY has, however, rearranged their contents. The *Siddhāntāgamas* have been entirely excluded from the *pīṭha* classification. Therefore, the Middle Current is now vacant and a new category is created to take its place, namely, the *Śaktitantras*. However, this is just a new name for old familiar Tantras amongst which are the *Siddhayogeśvarināṭa*, the *Sarvavīra* and the JY itself. It is worth noting that the SYM is regularly assigned to this *pīṭha*. The BY does so and Abhinava tells us that it is this *pīṭha* which dominates in this, the root Trika Tantra, and hence also in the *Mālinīvijaya*, which presents the essentials of the former. In fact, the SYM itself tells us that it belongs to the *Vidyāpīṭha*.

The BY locates the *Vidyā* and *Mantra pīṭha* in the current of the Right while the JY extends the *Vidyāpīṭha* to include the Tantras of the Left amongst which are the *Mahāsammohana* and *Nayottara*. Although the *Vināśikā* is not amongst the major Tantras, it may be the *Śikhātānta* listed as one of the secondary Tantras associated with the *Sammohana*. The Right Current of the *Vidyāpīṭha* consists of the *Yāmala*s amongst which the BY is considered to be the most important. The JY thus allots a major category to the *Yāmala*s and they are, as we have already had occasion to remark, treated at times as a category on their own. The Tamil poem, the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* by Oṭṭakkāṭṭar written in the twelfth century, frequently refers to the "*Yāmalaśāstra*." According to this work there are ninety-one secondary *Yāmala*s and Tantras associated with the main *Yāmala*s of which one of the most important is the BY. It is indeed an extensive and interesting work which deserves to be edited and carefully studied.

The *Mantra* and *Vidyā pīṭha*s are closely related, so much so that Jayaratha says that they stand for Śiva and Śakti. Similarly, the JY states that the *Mantrapīṭha* is associated with masculine words and the *vidyāpīṭha* with feminine ones. Perhaps we can understand this to mean that the Tantras in the former group are more Śiva-oriented than those belonging to the latter. The *Śvacchandatantra*, which is said to belong to the *Mantrapīṭha*, is indeed markedly more 'Śaiva' than the *Siddhayogestvarimata* of the *Vidyāpīṭha* which is more 'Śakta.' Moreover, Abhinava's statement that the *Vidyāpīṭha* sustains and strengthens the *Mantrapīṭha* is exemplified in the context of the Trika exegesis of Śiva scripture by the secondary and yet vitally important place given to the *Śvacchandatantra* which supplies, amongst other things, alongwith the *Mālinīvijaya*, the cosmology of the Trika.

In Kashmiri circles the *Vidyāpīṭha* was considered to be the most important of the *pīṭha*s. Abhinava quotes the *Kularatnamālātānta* to say that Trika, as a Kaula school which embodies the essence of the doctrines of the Tantras of the Left and the Right currents, is superior to them all. He does this immediately after he has extolled the superiority of the *Vidyāpīṭha*, implying perhaps in this way that Trika as a whole belongs to this *pīṭha*. Thus Abhinava exalts the *Vidyāpīṭha* as the ultimate essence of the other *pīṭha*s by stating, on the authority of the *Ānandasāstra*, that all the *pīṭha*s ultimately derive from the *Vidyāpīṭha* in such a way that, as Jayaratha puts it: "there is only one *pīṭha* which is of the nature of them all."

The *Vidyāpīṭha* is also important in Nepal. Most of the Tantras preserved there, which affiliate themselves to a *pīṭha*, belong to this one. Amongst them are two texts which represent themselves as elucidating the essentials of the doctrines of this *pīṭha*. One is called "*Vidyāpīṭha*" and is quite short while the other, the *Śrīvidyāpīṭhamatasāra*, claims to be 12,000 verses long. The *Vidyāpīṭha* and its importance in Nepal is particularly relevant to our present study because major Tantras of the Kubjikā cult affiliate themselves to it. The *Manthānabhairavatantra*, which is amongst the most important Tantras of this school, belongs to this *pīṭha* and tells us that the goddess of this tradition resides in it. Certain manuscripts of the KMT bear long colophons that are very similar in form and content to those of the MBT and include a reference to the affiliation of the KMT to the *Vidyāpīṭha*. As these colophons are not uniform in all the manuscripts, it is hard to say on the basis of this evidence alone whether the KMT did, in fact, originally affiliate itself to this *pīṭha*.

Although, as we have noted above, the KMT does consider its doctrines to be the essential teachings of all these *pīṭhas*, it does not expressly say that it belongs to any *pīṭha*. Possibly the JY is right to assign it to the *Mudrāpīṭha*. Anyhow, many later Tantras of the Kumbhikā cult most certainly do belong to this *pīṭha*. Thus the *Śrīmatottaratāntra* which is considered to be a direct successor of the KMT (which is also called (*Śrīmata*) is a *Vidyāpīṭhatāntra*, and so is a Tantra closely associated with it, namely, the *Kāḍībhedā* of the *Gorakṣasaṃhitā*.

To conclude the first part of this monograph, let us recall what K. C. Pandey wrote more than three decades ago concerning Śaivāgamic studies: "How can any correct conclusion be possible unless all of (the Āgamas) or at least a respectable number of them be carefully read?" Indeed, we cannot say such about the structure, history and form of the Śaiva canon without having access to, and carefully studying, the extant material in manuscripts which, although a tiny fraction of this vast corpus of sacred literature, is vast in itself. This is a major area of Indology which has, sadly, not even gone past the stage of preliminary assessment.

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Pratyabhijñā

It is known to everybody that the Divine remains abiding in everything—sentient and insentient, but on account of some veil we are unable to conceive it in the beginning. But when we hear about its glory and greatness, its nobleness and graceful nature from the mouth of a reliable and competent person who has some definite knowledge regarding its sublime nature we become eager to approach him knowing definitely that the Divine is the most lovable, is dear of all dears—the *Summum bonum* of all aims. The supreme aim of human life is first to realise, later to relish the love of the Divine in multifarious ways.

Recognition is the sure path to realise one's identification with the Divine. The common people do not have sufficient knowledge regarding the concept of *pratyabhijñā*, the central concept of the philosophy also called Kashmir Śaivism, originally propagated by Utpaladeva. Therefore it is relevant to throw some light on it. The idea is mostly illustrated by presenting an example of how recognition occurred in the life of a lost prince. The prince was taken away by some robbers when he was a small baby. He was reared up by some, looked after by some others. After a few years when he grew up to be a young man he was identified by some ministers as the lost prince. He was brought before the king and without disclosing to him his real identity he had been entrusted with some responsible duties to perform with the purpose of getting him well-trained in performing the duties of the king perfectly. When he became excellently ripe the real identity is revealed to him in the beginning in a general way, that he belongs to a noble family but later it is disclosed to him that he was the son of a king. Then it was furthermore brought to his knowledge that he was the son of the particular king in whose presence he was just standing. Thus he was brought face to face to the noble Lord of the domain. In this way he recognised himself as the prince. This is a simple case of recognition which begins with recognition in a general way, but later all the specific attributes belonging to him as his essential nature follow one after the other in a sequence, only to fill the bowl which as it were remained empty so long on account of separation from the Lord.

In the spiritual literature the aspirant's way to the Divine is described as a journey. The course the aspirant follows has a number of voids, therefore he has to encounter these voids which are comparatively extensive than the one left behind. The aspirant feels

within that they are nothing but chasms, gaps between the Lord and him. The aspirant desires to cross the void, a gap between the lover, the devotee himself and the beloved, the Divine itself. As the journey continues, the gap seems to the devotee as if bridged. As this process continues the devotee experiences satisfaction to some extent. This is known as *madhuraṇḍa*, gradual fulfilment of inner being. But it is to be noted here that direct realisation or Recognition does not occur all at once to all, irrespective of comparative acquirement of competency. Because the nature of seekers varies, some are well-advanced in spirit with purity of innate essence. Because of the purity of the innate nature some are bestowed grace by the Lord immediately, but for others the path of intuitive judgement is to be followed.

It is a wide path along which one can proceed. This is the path of knowledge with the characteristic of right form of reasoning, *sattarka*. It is known to scholars that *tarka*, the path of argument, fails to lead a person to achieve a solid ground. The *Sūtra in Vedānta*: '*tarkāpratīṣṭhānāt...*' says that argument is unstable because it is refuted by counter arguments and so on, for this reason *tarka* is to be discarded. But we also know that *tarka* is an efficient method which makes unification between two things possible, between one and the other. It is a sure link—a bridge which connects two entities. *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* defines Yoga thus:

yogamekatvaṁmicchanti vastuno'nyena vastuṇā,

MVT IV.4ab

(Wise people) like to define Yoga as a unity of one entity with the other.

Not only that, it serves as a staircase by which one leaves that which is to be rejected and embraces the one which is to be accepted. Therefore in the Upaniṣad *tarka* has been praised as a sure means for *anusaṁdhāna*, a method of unification.

It has further been stated in Śaivism, that *tarka* is the best limb of Yoga. By the right application of the right form of reasoning one is able to discern the right from the wrong.

We live in the world of isolation separate from one another by creating walls of distinctions of fame and riches, of position and status, and we live in the island of the ego, *ahaṁkāra*. But when by the grace of guru we are able to see the light—the light which unifies all, brings all in the embrace of the Divine, we realise oneness, the singleness of Light within.

In order to see the Light we do not require to go further. It is near, it is everywhere. But first of all we should realise the Light recognising it to be the very essence of ME as I. Then it occurs to the aspirant that everything is made of that Light. It has emerged from it, is made of it. To realise that everything that is known as *idam*, the object, is really *Brāhman*, but differentiation, the variousness, the divisions, the *nānātva* is unreal. The reality is one singleness but multifariousness is also real which shows itself by the dynamic pulsation of the Divine, dancing in the rhythmic play of delight. The Divine is nothing but *camatkāraikarasa*, the one harmonious unflavouredness of the experience of joy. So the delight of the Divine does not reject anything but unifies, brings all together, if there is really anything separate from it.

The real nature of the Divine is not at all static but dynamic, by the energy of which He embraces all in one integral cognition (*akhaṇḍāmarśa*). But it expands itself and contracts. Expansion (*prasara*) is the nature of immanence of the Divine and contraction (*saṅkoca*) is transcendence. Both are true. When we are able to recognise his transcendent nature we only traverse as if half of the journey. Unless we are capable of seeing or realising with the light of recognition that everything is composed of the Light we fail to achieve the highest goal. The highest goal only becomes complete when the two halves meet in unison, in full equilibrium in the union of Śiva and Śakti, the unity of the dynamic with the static.

We know of Umā's penance for obtaining Śiva as her beloved husband. Śiva appeared before her in the disguise of a *Brāhmacārin*, a celibate, to bless her with boons. She was unable to recognise him as Śiva himself and rejected all the boons bestowed on her. But as soon as the real recognition as to the reality of Śiva dawned forth in her she was beyond all delights.

When real recognition as to the divine nature of the devotee occurs, one feels within a state of unsteadiness indicating movement and cessation of movement. It cannot be indicated by the term movement nor the absence of movement. It is beyond movement and yet movement infinite. Movement in the core of rest while in rest it is on move infinitely.

The Śaiva doctrine looks into the Reality as having three aspects. It is composed of three principles known as *nara*, *śakti* and Śiva, the object, the dynamic instrument and the Supreme. The object in general is known as *nara*. The gross object, the instrument of knowledge and the limited subject come under *nara*. The *śakti* is a link between *nara*, the object, and Śiva, the supreme subject. Therefore, it is essential that the limited subject for the purpose of unification with the Supreme should take recourse to *śakti* which alone is capable of leading the limited self to attain Śiva nature. As in Christian spirituality the Trinity is the basic principle, so is Trika in Kashmir Śaivism. It is state that God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Spirit are the three units of the single body of the One. Every being is in essence made of the love of Christ, the Son. The indwelling Spirit, consciousness in essence, leads the being to approach the Lord, for without the help of the awakened *śakti* real recognition is impossible. Therefore, realizing this truth, Utpala, the saint, assuming the role of the *guru* states in the beginning of the *Pratyabhijñā Karikās*.

By means of revealing the dynamic power this doctrine of Recognition is presented.

IPK 1.3

The Supreme Divine is eternally abiding in every atom of existence in the form of action, knowledge and bliss as an integral unity embracing all in one and is still beyond them. Though permeating all beings, the hidden (*gūḍhātma*) one does not reveal itself. The question that suffers the soul of the seeker is: why the One who is the soul of everything does not reveal itself to him. Putting this question the devoted seeker gives the answer

himself:

There is, within me,
The tiniest dark spot
That keeps you hidden.
Completely wiping away even that,
Reveal, O Lord, your spotless form.

Śivastotrāvalī XIII.2

The great Lord composed of imperishable body embracing the whole world consisting of the bliss of nectar of eternal consciousness (*citsudhārasanaya*) remains unattainable so long as the grace of the Lord does not touch the inner self. Only when the grace touches the ardent soul then the road opens to the view of the seeker which leads him from the illusory to empirical and from empirical and from empirical to the eternal existence of infinite bliss of one's own.

According to *Pratyabhijñā* doctrine every being is in essence perfectly free (*paripūrṇa svatantra*) and blissful. It is the perfect equilibrium of knowledge and activity, but on account of the veiling and delusive power of *māyā*, the pure light, the real nature of the Lord, remains out of reach. Only those on whom the grace of the Divine has dawned, can realise what their real nature is (*āyatadṛḍha śaktipātasya*).

The principal requisite for bestowing good to others is the recognition of one's own nature that it is none else than divinity, the most auspicious Śiva. When one is able to recognise Śiva to be one's own self, one attains the state of the Supreme Godhead. This supreme Self is unlimited light possessing all-transcending power which leads the seeker to attain the highest of human goals.

The doctrine as presented in the *Pratyabhijñā Kārikās* by Utpaladeva and a detailed exposition of it as has been given by Śrī Abhinavaguptācārya in two of his commentaries, the one long and the other a little shorter, is the source of the present paper.

Pratyabhijñā is ordinarily translated in English as 'recognition', a kind of direct perception of the one which was once directly known but on account of the play of deluding power called *māyā* is forgotten but it is recognised again as if face to face (*sāmmukhyena*).

The term *pratyabhijñā* has been analytically defined by Śrī Abhinavagupta in the commentary called *Vimarsinī* in the following way:

Recognition is a knowledge of the Light as facing the self reversely.

IPV p. 19

The above definition contains three components viz. *prati*, *abhi* and *jñā* which mean *prati*—towards, *abhi*—face to face and *jñā* means knowledge. The whole sentence then means direct knowledge of one's own self face to face.

Manifestation of one's own self is not a new experience which was not experienced

before, for the Light, the real essence of the self is an unbroken Light (*sakṛt vibhāto 'yamātma*). It shines once and remains shining eternally but the power which is inseparably united with it, creates in the unbroken flow of light an illusion of cleavage, a break as it were which shows itself in the form of *vikalpa*, determinate knowledge. Because of this the notion of *vikalpa* makes its appearance in the form that 'this is of this character, not of this' *idam ittham nānittham*. But when real *pratyabhijñā* shines forth, it is the unification of experiences of what appeared before (*bhūta bhūtsantānarūpānusandhānātmikā*)? This unification of experiences is the very life of *pratyabhijñā* or *pratyabhijñā* itself.

In the spiritual tradition of India three stages regarding the journey of the seeker for truth are generally accepted. The first is *prabodhana*, real awakening. It is followed by *sāmmukhya*, coming face to face with the Lord. Then the stage of *sanibodhana*, addressing the Lord as one's own dear. The soul remains overpowered in deep slumber which in the language of Āgama is the state of *paśu* or *jīva* with limited knowledge and activity. During the period of slumber the *jīva* has little knowledge regarding its real nature. It has no learnings for knowing the truth both of the ultimate and the essence of his own nature. But when the slumber begins to break the question what his real nature is, arises in his inner soul. Then he feels an urge for knowing the purpose of his existence and the real goal. It is known to all that grace of the Lord does not occur in a person by supplication and prayer (*upāyah no śivo bhātī*), but shines only spontaneously.

It is a well-accepted view that grace is one of the Lord's five functions. Therefore we are unable to show any reason when He will show grace to anybody. As veiling (*tirodhāna*) of His own nature is the play of His, in the same way *anugraha* is also another aspect of His functions, therefore, individual initiative is of no value regarding when it will touch the soul. As soon as the fall of grace (*anugrahasaktinipāta*) occurs it not only purifies the soul of the seeker but rouses him up from the deep slumber in which he was lying deadly asleep. The awakening of the soul opens to the view of the seeker a new vista long which he will have to approach the beloved.

The *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* has described three means for absorption in Śiva. By adopting one of these means the individual is able to attain the ultimate end of life. They are named as *sāmbhava*, *śākta* and *ānava*. They are denoted by the terms will, knowledge and activity, respectively. Without taking recourse to any one of them which are directly linked with Śiva (*śaivīmukham*), it is impossible to have realisation of one's true nature. The means called *sāmbhava* is of the nature of *icchā* (will) which implies *pratyabhijñā* in which everything whatever it may be, shines as a reflection in a mirror by the will of the Divine. This Divine is the support or the bearer of the reflection which assumes the form of the universe. This implies the immanence of the Lord in creation, this universe is the domain that brings consciousness in manifestation (*caitanyasya vyaktisthānam*) by means of cognition (*āmarśana*). In the language of Abhinavagupta it is speech (*vak*) or reflected consciousness or in another word it is called *paravāda*, the supreme sound. It eternally pulsates in the transcendental cognition as its essential nature, *aham*, in the form of I.

But those whose understanding is not so refined and whom the grace of the Divine has not touched so keenly conceive them as bound in the morass of existence. On account

of *vikalpa*, thought constructs, he begins think themselves bound. Because of the presence of these *vikalpas* one cannot cross the world of bondage and remains bound by false views regarding the world and the self. Thought constructs are the play of *mātrkāś* (syllabic sounds) which go on creating thoughts or concepts. They are ever engaged in veiling the real nature of beings. It is stated in the *Spanda Kārikā* thus:

The powers are ever in readiness to conceal his own nature,
for without the association of words, ideas cannot arise.

Sp Ka III. 15

It seems relevant to say that thought constructs are of two types, the one is impure which is the source of bondage, but the other is pure which really is the dynamic energy of the Supreme. When it is known rightly by the seeker it leads one to attain the highest end of one's life.

Therefore, one must get rid of impure *vikalpas* by sowing the seeds of pure *vikalpas*. One should approach a teacher (*sadguru*). It is from him that he is able to know about the truth. Then he further confirms his right understanding by studying the texts. The order that he follows is the teacher, then the scriptures and finally one's own intuition: *gurutaḥ*, from *guru*, *śāstrataḥ*, from texts, *svataḥ*, from one's own intuitive knowledge. It is only by his intuitive judgement (*sattarka*) that one can ascertain the real nature of the things and is able to discern what is to be rejected and which should be accepted. The impure *vikalpas* are the forces standing in opposition to those of pure *vikalpas*, but the latter are able to uproot those *vikalpas* which put the soul enticed with the worldly existence.

The *path* the awakened soul treads on along the journey to his goal has certain stages of spiritual development. In the beginning it starts when the seeker receives the grace of the teacher (*gurukṛpā*). This follows the disciple's competency in consulting the Āgamic texts which contain material that is really helpful for understanding the truth. It is quite relevant to say that real conviction regarding the Truth does not arise or shine forth until it spontaneously manifests in one's own nature (*svataḥ*). The text shows to him the vision of recognition indirectly and guides his understanding to grasp the truth following the five-formed syllogism. The next beginning with '*kathanācidāsādyā*' and so on is a statement about recognition. It is summary of the subject-matter, '*uddeśa*'. The mid-portion of the work states the reasons (*hetvādi*) and the last verse '*iti prakāṣito mayā*', thus 'I have shown' etc. is the conclusion. Thus, the work, that is, a text like the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā* which presents the subject-matter in a syllogistic form including five terms, serves as a means of recognition to instruct others, and that is its object.

The doctrine named *Pratyabhijñā* is a unique spiritual tradition. It is a *path* that leads everyone to realise the Divine within one's own being. It is not only a means (*upāya*) but at the same time it is the ultimate end (*upeya*). Everybody can embrace it whether one has earned competency (*adhikāra*) or not. Utpaladeva, the author of the doctrine, being so graceful to the mortal world plunged in the sea of troubles, utters in the same strain of the Vedic seers for delivering good to the people :

Let all the sons of immortality listen
These celestial abodes were
Well-established in You.

After realising recognition, Utpaladeva, the divine teacher in order to shower grace to the world says:

Having somehow realised my identity with the Supreme and wishing to render service to humanity, I am establishing self-recognition which is a means of attaining all that is of value.

IPK 1.1

This opening verse of *Pratyabhijñā Kārikā* contains some very meaningful words: *jānasyaipyupakaramicchan*, after realising his identity with the divine the author feels an urge within to deliver it to the world. He takes up the methods of bestowing it by means of *prakhyā* and then *upakhyā*. First realising the light of the divine in himself, he wants to bestow it to others by means of reflected consciousness, by placing those who pass from one existence to the other (*jana*) near (*saṁīpan*) the Lord in order that they may attain the nearness of all the good belonging to the Lord (*paramēśvara dharmasaṁīpatakaranam*). That is, they are given the pure nectar or essence in such a way that they may realise oneness with the divine essence, knowledge and activity abiding inseparably with the Lord.

According to the doctrine, whatever shines is the Divine in essence. The objects that appear as jar externally and that shine as pleasure or pain internally, when seen in their essence they are nothing but light. But it is quite relevant to mention here that this light is not simple a light that floods everything and then obliterates, but it is such a light that not only makes the body of all appear as one's own body, but it pulsates as the very life of everything. Everything shines as composed of the light. Everything that is manifest is simply this glory *sarva mādayam vibhavam*. It is an all-pervasive light encompassing all, which unifies all with the divine by demolishing the barrier of separation. Abhinavagupta states the fundamental insight in his commentary, which we may summarise thus:

The inner self, which is called *paśu* and is referred to as 'I', is not different from the Supreme Self, who is essentially the light of consciousness, grasping both the subject and the object: on the contrary, I am the transcendental being, and He is I. There is no difference between the two. For the real seeker of the truth *anusandhāna*, unification of everything as one and viewing all as an integral unity of the light of consciousness, is a process which certainly leads one to attain the greatness of Śiva. He gives in his commentary in a nutshell how the process of unification occurs.

The category of earth cannot exist with the category of water, for it is in the medium of firm-support (*dhṛti*) only that solidity is found...All these realities are simply nothing without Bhairava who is absolutely autonomous at the very quintessence of perfect Light.

P.T.V., Tr. Jaldeva Singh, p. 117

In the other words the recognition of Supreme Consciousness is an easy approach for the attainment of the true self. It is stated with emphasis that only by means of inquiry (*anveṣaṇa*) into the source of *pramā*, the light of consciousness which lends its light to the distinctly manifest objects like blue and pleasure, one is able to attain the Supreme Consciousness. Therefore, Śrī Abhinavagupta writes:

The attainment of the true self is possible only through close unification of right knowledge regarding well-manifest objects like blue and pleasure and so on.

IPV 1.1

The limited form of knowledge shines as separated from the all-inclusive light of the Lord. Thus the limited one gets its fulfilment even though it rests in the source, the very light. But for the limited soul the act of swinging from 'this' (*idam*) to 'I' (*aḥam*) always continues resting in the object and later in the subject touching the two ends first in the objective level and next in the level of the subject. The rest (*viśrānti*) at the level of the object is relative, while the rest that occurs at the level of the subject is relative-cum-absolute. With the attainment of the light absolute (*pāramārthika*) which is an unbroken continuum, everything then shines as composed of light. But on account of the will of the Lord a cleavage shows itself within that single one, with the result that this first appears very indistinctly, then ■ shines distinctly as it completely separate from the light, the main-spring of everything. But *aḥam*, that is I, remains all the time linked with the object. This truth remains veiled to the view of the limited consciousness but as soon as the truth is realised even for a moment, or in other words, when the glimpse of recognition dawns in a soul, he feels all at once that the object he sees, the delicacy he feels, the sweet sound he hears is nothing but the manifestation of the light of consciousness and he himself is shining within that (*nijāntaragatam*). It is also stated in the text:

All the appearances (*ābhāsas*) are essentially of the nature of consciousness, so they always exist internally.

IPK 1.8.7

The manifestations have their existence in the light of consciousness of the universal subject. Whether they be in the state of internality or externality, they are essentially of the nature of consciousness.

IPV 1.8.7

In the language of the devotee we say that though the Supreme Lord is abiding very near, we are unable to realise him until we attain the true insight. The devotee knows rightly what He really is, so he states with conviction:

O Lord of the God !

You are an object of incessant worship
 By the great ones,
 But are yourself a worshipper.
 Here in this world
 You are an object of vision
 From both within and without,
 But are yourself a seer.

Śivastotrāvalī IV.25

Though Utpaladeva was a staunch non-dualist, he has also a true *bhakta*, devotee, who always tread along the path of delightful devotion (*bhakti*) *par excellence*. It is such a state which is an equilibrium of both devotion and knowledge. Devotion is nothing but enjoyment of the highest bliss of absorption in multifarious ways which dissolves all obstacles on one hand and on other makes the devotee worthy to realize the great Brāhman everywhere and in every situation.

Therefore with the consciousness
 Of the true essence of things
 That emanates from the removal of
 The obstacles to the nectar of your non-duality
 Make me worthy, O Lord of the Gods,
 Of the worship of your feet.

Śivastotrāvalī XII.5

Śrī Abhinavagupta defines *bhakti* as absorption in the highest bliss (*paramānandāveśa*), by the force of which the devotee realises *brahmasatā*, the presence of Brāhman in every state (*sarvāstāvasthāsu*).

Absorption (*sandēśa*) in the Supreme is really devotion which does not at all tarnish non-duality but adds brightness to it. Regarding the three stages referred to above that the aspirant has to pass through, these are: *prabodhana*, awakening of the soul. It occurs only through descent of grace followed by the offering of initiation by the spiritual teacher (*sadguru*). It is then followed by *sāmmukhya* of the aspirant which means that the aspirant realises face to face the glory of the Lord. This is not all. When the aspirant experiences the delightful union with the Lord he feels an anguish for quenching his thirst for nectar over and over again. It is termed as a great festivity (*pūjana mahotsava*) where meditation goes on spontaneously. The Truth is mediated upon the without the aid of verbal media. It continues in the core of the heart as reflection of Light in a clear mirror. This meditation has been given a very clear exposition in the *Tantrāloka*:

The light is self-manifest and is perfectly free. It is in essence pure consciousness and abides steadily in the heart. Though every category is composed of it yet his meditation is to be performed in the recess of the heart. The knower of the Truth

perceives the Lord in the inner sanctum of the heart.

Tantrāloka V.20-21

The author clarifies the view with the simile of the flower of the plantain tree. As the outer covers of the flowers when peeled off one after the other the flower inside makes its appearance, in the same way the seeker of the Truth should delve deep after removing the outer coverings which are nothing but all the principles, some gross and some subtle; then he is able to stand face to face or directly realise the effulgent light of the Lord.

If we are allowed to follow the *karina*, the sequence may be as follows:

Let there be that great festival of worship
Where the Supreme Lord himself
Is meditated upon, seen and touched.
Be always mine through your grace.

Śionstotravall XIII.6

The order that is seen in the journey of the aspirant is *dhyāna*, meditation in the beginning. At the ripeness of meditation the vision of the Divine Beloved makes its appearances. This vision is real, not a creation of the mind. The eager book of the devotee sees at a distance a glimpse of Divine and he is keen to have his vision in the core of the heart. This vision of the beloved makes the aspirant assured that the day is not far away when he will be able to embrace him. The eyes of the beloved speak of this by his compassionate look. At this stage he goes on looking constantly at Him. By the words *drśyate stayam* the Supreme Lord gives his own vision without any external aids. Then occurs the ultimate contact. This is indicated by the word *spṛśyate*, 'touched.' All these steps occur by the grace of the Lord not outside but in the void of consciousness (*cidākāśa*). Then the stage that becomes manifest to the devotee now is that of the relation of Thou and I. The devotee is then able to address his beloved as 'Thou, that is in the second person. Though there is the absence of duality at this stage yet separateness remains manifest so long as a total merging does not come about. The devotee always likes to maintain his separateness, a sort of distance from the Lord in order to relish bliss with its numerous facets until the bowl of emptiness becomes completely full.

According to the Śaiva doctrine of Kashmir devotion has not been given so much importance as we find it in the Vaiṣṇava tradition. The Vaiṣṇavas are regarded by the Advaita Śaivas as established in the lower level of spiritual development, for to them *bhakti* is only an attachment (*rāga*), and as such it leads them to attain a certain, stage, not the ultimate. But to Utpaladeva *bhakti* is a great treasure. Those who are richly endowed with the blessing of devotion do not require anything for their need. It is known as *parābhakti*, the sublime form of devotion. It flourishes in the aspirant. When he attains steadiness in devotion that is when proper maturity in the realisation of the non-dual nature of the Lord occurs he feels himself the real recipient of everything that the Master showers on him (*dīyate asmai sarvaṃ*).

Śrī Abhinavagupta also does not lag behind when he speaks of devotion with high spiritual fervour thus:

Now I, who am your devotee, having become transformed into you, am as if composed of your essence. On seeing you or realising you as my own self, I pay obeisance to you and me over and over again.

Mahopadeśa Vimśatikā V.4

These quotes definitely stand as a sound proof that thinkers like Utpaladeva and Śrī Abhinavagupta did not hold any disparaging views regarding *bhakti*, rather it adds brightness and beauty to the tenet of non-duality.

Following the text of *Pratyabhijñā*, I shall now proceed to explain how divine recognition is transmitted to others. It is wellknown to the people in general that the spiritual teacher guides the disciple by giving him initiation so that he may proceed along the noble path leading to liberation. Knowledge of the highest kind is transmitted to the disciple, by whose power the latent impression lying in him is destroyed. And after the fall of the body he attains Śivahood.

This in short is the description of the formal type of initiation. But as the nature or the innate characteristic of every human being differs, initiation and spiritual practice which follows it also differ. Therefore for some *sattarka*, the right form of judgement, is the means which paves the way for the person of ripe intuition and acumen of intelligence to realise the noble Truth by himself (*svataḥ*). But it should be remembered here that before proceeding along the path it is essential that he should first of all receive a glimpse of the Divine by the kindness of the teacher.

It is quite relevant here to state how direct knowledge of the divine recognition arises in the disciple. Śrī Abhinavagupta says that the teacher, who has already attained identity with the Divine, is endowed with all the glories of the Lord. He is the embodied form of Śiva himself. He is said to be the *bimba*, the source or original image, while the domain of the heart of the disciple which has become perfectly pure like the mirror, is capable of receiving the light as reflection (*pratibimba*). The analogy that is used in this context is called *bimba-pratibimba nyāya*, the analogy of the source and the reflection. The source (*bimba*) is one but the reflection may be many. Therefore, the teacher representing *bimba* is able to bestow good to many.

The doctrine of *Pratyabhijñā* is a means (*upāya*) to attain liberation or revelation of one's own Śiva nature. It is a means by which recognition comes about. It is the way leading to the ultimate goal which is also known as recognition. "Recognition as such may be called the penultimate goal which terminates in the manifestation of Lordship with all His glory as a single light" in one's own being. Ordinary people who do not have any knowledge regarding its nature and about the goal to which it leads, if they hear by chance that a person who has realised his identity with the Supreme, the most desirable of all

desires, and established His Recognition, is desirous of doing good to all troubled with birth and death and bestow grace to them, the final release becomes assured to them. They receive recognition as reflection reflected from the original source. The sure knowledge of the fact makes them aware of the truth in the first stage, but as soon as they become intent on taking the course of recognition, they reach the second stage. In this stage they imagine themselves free from the limitations of time. The third stage manifests itself when they realise the steady recognition of perfection in their own nature. This process has been indicated by the grammatical terms third and first persons.

The meaning denoted by the term third person terminates in the meaning denoted by the first person.

IPV v.I, p. 27

In the above way we have tried to give a summary view of the doctrine of recognition. It is relevant to say something regarding the nature of *sattarka*, the right type of judgement. The system known as *Pratyabhijñā* is not a text of logic though it involves some arguments and counter arguments only to help the seeker of the Truth to stand steadily on the stable ground of conviction free from doubts and misconception.

The author presents the doctrine of Recognition by bringing to view, that is in the sphere of perception, the power of *drk* and *kriyā*, knowledge and action which are inseparably united with the Lord, so that taking recourse to them one is able to recognise one's own self.

When finally the devotee realises recognition he feels that everything shines in the light of the divine as one with it.

Being self-luminous
You cause everything to shine;
Delighting in your form
You fill the universe with delight;
Rocking with your own bliss
You make the whole world dance with joy.

Śivastotrāvalī XIII.15

40

Pusalar

In the story of the humble Brāhmin Pusalar lies the proof that Śiva's grace falls upon the genuine devotee, irrespective of poverty or riches, position or power. Pusalar's life was one long dream of construction a temple to the glory of his beloved Śiva but he was a poor man and powerless to achieve his aim. At long last he decided to erect the temple in his heart, using the powers of his mind. Step-by-step he followed all the instructions for temple building, sanctifying the site, purifying the ground and laying the first stone. Gradually, the temple of his mind began to take shape. When at last it was complete with tower and crowning trident, he choose a day for the installation of the image in the sanctum sanctorum, and for its consecration.

As it happened the Pallava king Kadavarkon has just completed the construction of his monumental temple of Śiva, and had by chance decided upon the same day as Pasalar for the consecration of the deity. The *Periya Purāṇa* relates that Śiva spoke to the king, telling him that on the chosen day he, Śiva, would be in Pusalar's temple. The king choose another auspicious day, and he hastened to view Pasalar's temple, expecting to see a magnificent structure. To his immense surprise he found no visible temple, and was told rather that the temple stood, in all its glory, in Pusalar's heart. Myriads to believers have been deeply attracted by this oft-told story of Pusalar-for did it not confirm that even a penniless man could take precedence of over a king with all his wealth and power ! As long as his devotion was genuine he could enthrone Śiva in his heart.

It would appear that the Pallava ruler Kadavaron of this story may be identified with king Rajasimha who rule from AD 700 to 728. The Kailasanatha temple in the Pallava capital of Kanchipurama, Rajasimha's most spectacular monument of Śiva and his personal shrine, seems to be the king's temple of the Pusalar story. This identification has for its basis a foundation inscription in twelve Sanskrit verses engraved on the exterior wall of the Kailasanatha. The first six verses of this inscription give the traditional genealogy of the Pallavas down to Rajasimha. The seventh verse then states:

If in the Krita age, kings like Dushyanta heard a heavenly voice without body (*ambaragata vani sariram vina*) it is not a matter for astonishment; but it is matter for great wonder (*vismapanam*) that Sribhara (Rajasimha) has heard such a voice in this Kali age from which good qualities keep aloof.

This verse, apparently irrelevant since it does not connect with the first six verses, for with the following five, falls into place however, if we link the “heavenly voice without body” with the voice of Śiva heard by the king in the Pusalar story. The remaining verses state that Rajasimha “erected this extensive and wonderful house of Hara which resembles the fame and laughter of Hara” (verse 9); it expresses the hope that Śiva will reside for a long time in that temple (verse 10), and that he will always lend his presence to the shrine (verse 11). This identification places the devout Pusalar Nayanar at the start of the eighth century and thus makes him a contemporary of saint Sundarar.

The Lesser Fifty-one

So little is known of the lives and characters of the remaining fifty-one Nayanmars that it is difficult to build a distinct personality around any one of them. They appear to have been of much lesser stature than the sacred *Nalvar* and indeed of the saints discussed in this chapter. Certainly, their names are remembered and their images abide in the Nayanmar groups in each temple, but they have left behind no writings, nor even any oral tradition. The few brief facts known about them centre around their home towns and caste. Here and there an anecdote or two identifies a particular saint while a few others are known by some special power they acquired. Yet others, like Sundarar’s mother and father were added to the group merely because they were blessed enough to have borne a saint. And finally, it must be conceded that some of them may not even have been historical figures.

41

The Rājārāṇi Temple

The names of all the Śaiva temples at Bhubaneśwar and with Īśvara, i.e., Paraśurāmeśvara, Bramheśvara, Mitreśvara, Yameśvara, Tribhubaneśvara etc. But this temple bears a peculiar name. The mystery about this most beautiful and magnificent edifice has been enhanced by the fact that at present it contains no deity inside the temple. Even in the field of art and architecture, the Rājārāṇi possesses all the elements of a temple architecture, viz. a *Jagamohana* side niches, the *dikpālas* and the *navagraha* slabs both on the *Jagamohana* and the *Vimāna*. M.M. Ganguli describes that the present name of Rājārāṇi has been derived from a "very-finegrained Yellowish sandstone called Rājārāṇi in common parlance. This temple was originally known as Indreśvara. The Ekāmra Purāṇa fixes the position of the Indreśvara to the east of the Siddheśvara temple. Hence it can be said that the temple of Rājārāṇi bore the name of Indreśvara at least up to the time when these works were compiled and that its present name has, probably, been derived from the name of the sandstone used in it. M.M. Ganguly, on examining the *Khurapristha* or upper plinth carved as it is with the petals of lotus, thinks that this temple was meant for being dedicated to Viṣṇu.

There are certain features in the temple which prove its Śaivite origin. In the usual position of the door jambs of the *Jagamohana* occurs the Śaiva door keepers possibly Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa. The Dvārapāla carved on the right jamb stands wearing Jaṭāmukuta, a garland of skulls reaching up to the thighs and a snake. These door keepers are characteristically Śaivite and cannot be expected to be present on the door of a Vaiṣṇava temple. We also find the presence of Lākullīśa image on the lintel of the *Jagamohana* seated in *Yogamudrā* holding a *lākuta* alongwith his four disciples on the side panels. On both the sides of the Lākuli image, the lintel was carved with eight bearded and emaciated ascetics. These ascetics are no doubt the Paśupata teachers, occurring as they do in association with Lākuli and his disciples. The main temple, on its facades also contains three panels which show Śiva and Pārvatī dancing in the company of attendants holding musical instruments. A scene, probably representing a simple form of Śiva's marriage also occurs on the western side below the central niche. Gopinath Rao gives some illustrations of Śiva's marriages, calling them *Kalyāṇa sundara murtis*, in which the

ceremony has been indicated by the joining of the hands of Śiva and Pārvatī. All these sculptures alone refuse the theory that Rājārāṇī was ever a Vaiṣṇava temple. No doubt it is a Śalva monument probably erected by Indraratha, described as Indreśvara in the local Sanskrit works.

Ramalingar : A Śaivite Saint

Tiruvarudpaa, the superlative creation of Saint Valhhalaa as Ramalingaswami is called, meets squarely the *titanic* problem that threatens mankind. It deals not only with philosophical abstractions, but with matters of practical import. The gospel of Valhhalaa without confining itself within the boundaries of religion and philosophy, contemplates searchingly on the social and economic conditions. The varied difference that cleave humanity, the suffering of the humans, the harms inflicted mutually, the atrocities unleashed by the ego-maniacs, and takes a total view of the life in general, offering guide lines for freeing mankind from all its sufferings. For this world, which is weary disappointed and frustrated even after trying many systems, institutions and *paths* and which is yet in the deep sea of misery, *tiruvarudpaa* offers the sure path. The *path* offered by it would relieve Man from the evils of spiritual fatigue, hatred, mutual enmity and the endless differences of every kind that split deep the human race and lead him on to a nobler life free from narrow quarrels and wars. Ultimately it shows the way for Man to become a higher being, the superman according to the logic of the law of evolution. That is the new *path* that can give all the boons here on this very planet.

That new way is Cutta CaNmaarkkam, the Universal Path and the full name given to it by the saint is Shadaanta Cutta Civa CaNmaarkkam. With significance and clarity he called it also as Potu neTi, (the common path) Arulh neTi (the path of grace) and Olhi neTi (the path of light). He lived this life. And he, in all compassion, gives us the experience, intellectual truths and the higher consciousness attained by that *path* of life. Is he not the noblest soul who begged the Lord for nothing but the blessedness of loving over all the living beings.

In all the ages, great souls have shown *paths*. Those courses would be in accord with the spirit of the respective ages, the convictions and attitudes of the founders. They might have settled the problems confronting the society of the particular period and guided and helped the people to progress. A doctrine or an ideology that proved fruitful in its time loses its creative vitality in course of time. A true philosophy of life must be an ever-living philosophy that can revive itself at every successive age and acquire fresh life and fresh force in such a way as to meet the conditions that arise in that particular period to suit the new modes of life, the popular way of life, and the ideals of the people of that

age, and particularly it must rise to settle the problems and resolve the complexities faced in every phase of history, such is the nature of a living philosophy. Great men, who appear in various epochs of history provide the needed orientation to right living, by their inner stamina intellectual vigour and their compassion for humanity. They educate the people to understand and to practice the WAY. Because of these timely changes and teachings they are saved from stagnation and acquire a fresh lease of life. They are saved from getting fossilised as a mere intellectual stuff, and they become practically real doctrines of life.

Buddha, Mahavira, Jnanasambantar, Madhva, Sankara Bagavadpaada. Bhagavan Ramakrishnar and Ramalingar are the supreme souls who appeared in various periods of our history. They, in their periods of spiritual reign, took up the doctrines of life that had become stagnant and fossilised, put in the blessed crucibles of their life and purified them with the fire of their experience and wisdom, gave them glitter and grandeur and propagated them to the people. By the singular services of these great masters, India was awakened in those periods to a newer life.

As it happened in India, in other countries also came great men and guided the people. The thoughts of the Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Pythagoras and the Roman poet Virgil are the foundations of the Western philosophy of life. Jesus Christ, who arose among the West Asian Jews, gave a new strength to the religious life of the West. He changed the worn out faiths of the people. He gave them a new doctrine, a new path of life that cleansed their minds and lives. And he propagated his new path by his love and benevolent service and sermons. Prophet Mohammed Nabi of Arabia, by his doctrines of equality and brotherhood gathered together the innumerable groups of his people split and scattered by varied ways of worship. As these spiritual leaders have served as guides of the religious life during every phase of history, great political and social thinkers and economists, in accordance with the conditions of their nations and problems and complexities of the life faced by their people, have carried out the necessary reforms in the traditional ideas and created new ideologies.

Valmihalaar, unlike the above mentioned thinkers who chose for each of them separate and specific fields of service, choose to think about the human life in its totality, the life of people all over the world. And in this total vision he has found and given the common philosophy, the Universal Path that can elevate and ennoble the human mind that determines all the activities of human life. This profound philosophy of Valmihalaar can be compared with the philosophies of life given by the great sons of India like Rajaram Mohan Roy, Dayananda and Bhagvan Ramakrishna who were his contemporaries. And as we know, those periods of the 18th and 19th centuries were the significant phases of Indian history when India had a renaissance and a new awakening.

Paths prescribed and preached by the great are of two kinds, viz., the course that can be followed by a particular country or a section of people, and the way that can be followed by all mankind. The second one is called the Universal Path. The *pathi* that Valmihalaar presents is the Universal Path. Tiruvalmihavar, Ilhango Adikalh and Kambar transcended the boundaries of nation and race and sang for mankind in general in such

a way that it could draw from their treasures and develop and enrich ways. Tiruvalhluvar composed an ethical treatise and the other two wrote epics. But all the three are humanist-thinkers who wrote for the uplift of man. In their thinking neither religion nor philosophy, nor materialists thoughts or politics, nor caste or racial distinctions acquire any special separate importance. They do not think that these can have independent compartmentalised place and existence without complementary and inter-related relationship. They give importance to the human life which is an admixture of all these and the human qualities that are positively or negatively affected by these factors. Their primary purpose and concern was the growth and welfare of humanity.

In their lines, Ramalinga Valhhalaaar stands as the more highly evolved humanist poet. He is a humanist-poet of a new order and a new kind. Unlike Bertrand Russell and Bernard Shaw of the twentieth century, Valhhalaaar did not frame his humanism within the bounds of material welfare. He did not look at spiritual matters with a skeptic's eye. Humanism has spiritual dimension in addition and the development of spiritual life alongwith the material life is the real development of human life, held Valhhalaaar. But, unlike the ancient seers, Yogis and Siddhas, Valhhalaaar did not confine himself within spirituality and ignore worldly matters. The significant characteristic of Valhhalaaar is his master methodology of merging materialism and spiritualism. By that active mode of merger he effected an elimination of the stagnation that characterised both the material and the spiritual side of life in the preceeding ages. For both he gave a new shine and a new bloom.

Integrating both, he created a new nobler kind of practical life, a mode of life that nevertheless could be easily followed and gave ■ to humanity. Compassion forms the basis of that way of life. Is not compassion a natural emotion? Is not one moved while seeing one in misery? All the servants of the world, urged by compassion served mankind on the lines possible to them. Likewise, Valhhalaaar says that compassion which serves as the kindling force for a higher sort of worldly life is the basis of spirituality. Spirituality is not just word spinning. That is an inner culture, a new state of consciousness. If it is to awaken, compassion must grow in man says Valhhalaaar. Mere philosophical inquiries, mastering of scriptures and chanting of hymns alone cannot effect spirituality. One must realise the brotherhood of all living beings and in that belief one should show compassion for all living creatures. Only in such men can spirituality grow. For the manifestation of god, besides God-consciousness, compassion for living beings is also absolutely necessary, held Valhhalaaar.

He categorically asserts in Arudperunjooti Akaval that gracious God will manifest only in those who are by nature compassionate and who get moved for anyone, whoever he may be and they will be blessed with boons. And in the same passage, he proceeds to say that God has frequently revealed to him that the *path* of non-violence is the *path* of Grace and He has instructed him to look at all the living beings as one with Himself.

If the nature of God is immanence, his being in each and every living being is beyond doubt. He is inherently present in every being. When compassion gets kindled in one he can feel his presence. If one alleviates the suffering of the other person and gives

him happiness, an intimate integration of the emotions of the two will result. The state of one realising in oneself the latent presence of god is spirituality. And therefore, the master key for spirituality is compassion.

"Compassion of Civam can only be won by the compassion for all the living beings" is the significant assertion of Valhhalhaar. Compassion of Civam means grace of the Lord. These two differ only in degree but are the same in kind. Only on attainment of the grace of the Almighty love for him in us would get generated. If this attainment is not realized we would be constantly pestered with the urge for acquiring the petty wordly gains. Spirituality is the appearance of love for God and its development in the mind. As this love or God grows, the Grace of God can be attained in plenty. With God's grace descending on Man, his consciousness, intellect and other powers would grow. With this blessed might he can serve the living things more. This service, in turn, would open the gates for the grace of God. Thus by the material life enriched with compassionate service of mankind and service of all living creatures spirituality would spring up. And through spirituality the service of the living ones will grow. This is a higher truth Valhhalhaar reached through his own experience.

He made this truth known for all and preached it to the people. The highest acts in worldly life are service to the humanity and the protection of the living ones. Albert Schweitzer coined a vibrant new phrase: Reverence for life. In saint Ramalingar's songs, his love and compassion for the living beings reverberate:

"Oh, Father mine—Hear and grant this—
I must live in all love for all lives"

"Reaching the rediments of cause I must relieve the living-beings of their maladies." Let those who come to me attain all happiness and all the living beings are blessed with beneficence. By all means I must do sweet good to the living ones" Valhhalhaar tells us again.

Valhhalhaar is an embodiment of compassion. Even at the young age of twelve he was moved by the sight of the suffering people tortured by poverty and disease, the chilling cries of the hungry, the strong ones and those of the upper strata exploiting the meek and the weak. He cried with them. Even in his boyhood days, he says, he had no personal desires. There are curious evidences of this boyhood nature in his poems. He used to throw the coins fondly given by the dear ones on themselves or to waste lands. He testifies about it himself that he had not the slightest taint of desire and he consumed the dishes only with contempt. And he lists the different kinds of desires he possessed.

"Father mine, Listen to the desires of thine humble son. Grant this prayer and fulfil the desires.

I desire to become the form of compassion and to relieve my fellow beings of dread, fear, agony and the like.

I burn with desire to fill them with happiness.

I am desirous of dissuading the world from debauchery and massacre.

I intensely intend to glorify Thy fame and praise Thee, my Father Supreme."

This makes evident that he was full with a deep desire to serve the living ones. He appealed to the Lord to bless him with boons to serve the living beings. He got them and rose to mystic heights. Therefore he codified humanitarianism, service to all the living beings and compassion as the principal policy of his CaNmaarkkam. The aimed result of these, he said was the great Integration by soul love, Aanmaneeya Orumaippaadu. This significant phrase is a new coinage.

The wellknown appeal to the Lord that he fashioned for the routine chanting of the followers of CaNmaarkkam ■ this: "The right of spiritual Integration by Soul-love, the principal objective of Cutta CaNmaakkam should abide in us at all times, in all places, and in all ways without remissness." "Let us be blessed with this boon." The ideas held by Valhlhalaar regarding Jivakaarunyam, the compassion for living beings are far superior to similar ideas hitherto held by the great seers of the world. To delineate this proposition: In showing pity, giving aids and benevolence there exists the distinction and duality of the pitying and the pitied, the helping person and the helped person, the giving hand and the receiving hand. This difference of feeling should be made to disappear by deep love for others and friendship. An emotional integration between the pitying one and the pitied one must be established. And that is the integration through soul-love. The heart in which this noble integration glows is the preferred abode of God, sings Valhlhalaar.

"Who does have the all-embracing love for all the living ones—who does relish that integration of souls—The heart of them is the dancing dais of my lord. To those master spirits, I intend serving intensely."

The above content of the related Arudpaa well explains the characteristic phrase of Valhlhalaar—Aanmaneeya Orumaipattu—the integration of souls by love. This Arudpaa can be deemed the quintessence of the teachings of Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and Mahavira, and the conclusion of the Upanishads, that "all is one." "Am in all" of Karhhapiiran, soaked well in the experience of Valhlhalaar and fortified by the Grace force of God, with the renewed life suited for the twentieth century. There are innumerable differences and divisions caused and made almost permanent by caste, clan, faith race colour, language, class nation political party, provinces and ideologies. History is reflected with innumerable evidences of this bitter reality and a lot more is to be seen now also. The dangers of these differences are more formidable than ever before. Why? As a result of scientific advancement, rapid development of the means of communication, and industrial development the world has shrunk. Any problem gathers quickly massive force and affects many parts of the world. Science has come out with deadly nuclear weapons and hydrogen bombs. At this crucial juncture we do not know how to avoid the danger of war. This is the tremendous problem of today. Valhlhalaar prescribed that the right way of curing the disease is diagnosing it, finding out its root cause, and finding the right cure. Well, what is the root cause of this monstrous malady? Nothing but the human mind that discriminates and entertains endless differences. If the human mind changes

its attitudes, if the virtues and values like tolerance, amity, love and help are revered and nurtured in the relationship of nations, then in course of time, the danger of war would vanish. Peace and happiness would result. Beginning from the mind that does not indulge in discrimination, Valhlhalaar leads on to the resultant objective of Integration through soul-love in the song of grace referred above.

Discrimination between people for whatever reason should not be indulged in, in the *path* of grace. That is the solution Valhlhalaar offers to peace-hungry people of this century. Valhlhalaar asserts that discriminations based on religion should not be the means of attaining higher distinctions. Valhlhalaar censures the worldlings that their attachment to caste, faith, and religion, their indulgence in scriptural debating, and bickerings over *gotras* are not at all fair. Religions were created by the great men of the past to help attaining the Feet of God. But it is a sure fact that the human mind, in passage of time, would spoil any institution. The underlying life force of religion is love and purity of mind. But as time passed people missed these life principles, and started believing mere ritualism as religion and as a result started entertaining differences of religions and began battling with the followers of the alien religions. Thus the religion that ought to nurture love, and happiness faced a stagnation. Valhlhalaar declares in a stirring song of grace that God has ordained him to advise the people that the quarrels in the name of religion and the destruction caused are to be stopped and to show them the Cutta Canmaarkkam so that they can lead hereafter at least, a good life, they can really realise the Lord and get His bliss and become higher beings, the Supremen. If the varied religions can be considered as the Old Testament, the Cutta Canmaarkkam of Valhlhalaar which he propagated and projected as a movement can be deemed the new Testament.

He turns to the masses and laments "What a pity, you, without showing love for God, entertain mad lust for caste, creed and religion, and for the sake of these quarrel and meet with destruction." Valhlhalaar vehemently attacks the *paths* of religion and philosophy but melts in his love for God whom he glorifies as follows:

"Oh Ambrosial Grace, my Supreme Treasure, great Dancer of Jnana." "Consort Mine Own", "My life, My knowledge, My honey-kin", "Thou art both Father and Mother mine."

Then what is the secret of his love for God and denial of dogmatic religions? His undaunted conviction is that all religions transcending their limiting differences point to only one God; and therefore, The varied modes to approach God through the various religions hitherto tried are enough and now without trekking the *path* of religion, God can be reached by the *path* of grace and through compassion. That is the reason for his side-stepping the traditional religions. Significantly enough through the chosen course of grace he realised God intimately and attained the Supreme Bliss of experiencing God and ultimately attained immortality. Of this he gives an evidence in a Tiruvarudpaa, "the Song of Grace?"

"Those enmeshed in dogmas, religious debates, and in the illusion of *māyā* and darkness kept their minds and spent their life in vain-but I placed my heart at your floral feet. You in turn, in all love, blessed me with life that never perishes. Enough my Lord, my penance has borne fruit."

In this song he declares his spiritual success of experiencing God transcending religion. Having this triumph in mind he thunders that the *paths* of dogmas and religions are no more needed for the world. Some of his attributes to God bear testimony to this. In his various songs he adorns the Almighty with the attributes like the Effulgence Supreme who at the outset showed that religions, dogmas and castes are lies, the Grace Light that is high above religion, the Effulgence Great who revealed Himself on shunning attachments like religion and caste. Besides he proclaims that he learnt the need and greatness of the *path* of grace through the words of God Himself. He reprimands those engaged in religious bickerings:

"Behold!" Holding and quoting the religions and also scriptures, you cry aloud as "our God" and "your God". Oh, you who know not that God is one:" He pities the people who claim to belong to this or that religion, believe that rituals are religion and waste their life without attaining the experience of God. He turns to them and tells them:

"Listen fellowmen. You cleaned the thick forests and made fields. Then did with pain ploughing and manuring them. After all these, instead of planting there the sugarcane, what a pity, you sow the seeds of poisonous weeds and rejoice over it?"

Then he proceeds to advise the earth-bound:

"What would you do after death? Where would you have a refuge? Lo, you drift without knowing the Aim. You toiled here yet know no gain. All through your life you have watered the waste land!"

After addressing them thus with sorrow he directs them to take the Path of Grace, the Cutta Canmaarkkam and presents them with the unfailing promise:

"Enough are your sufferings. The imminent hour of the Lord has come. Come now here. You would get the bliss in plenty. I promise. What I utter is nothing but Truth."

While Valhalaar extends his call, he does not, like politicians, gather followers. He puts before the people his supreme spiritual experience—the divine experience which is past comparison that God has given him. He enlightens them that the hour of God's arrival has come. Then he calls them to join the Path of Grace.

The basic principles that form the foundation of the Cutta Canmaarkkam are two: One is compassion for all living beings—the service done to them relieving their hunger, disease, redeeming them from their worries and woes. The other one is the thinking of God, consciousness of the Divine—ceaselessly inquiring the greatness of God, the qualities of the soul, littleness of the *jivas*, qualities of God and learning about these things—then wiping out with *teras* all of our needs and submitting the appeals at His feet. If anyone, of any nationality and adherent of any religion, takes to this *path* his life would at once turn meaningful. For the development of the external life he should do service to mankind, and service for all the living ones. For the good of the inner life, he should constantly think of God and with melting heart he should contemplate his desires. He should pray then to God to fulfil his desires, beg him to extend his Grace to other beings. A life begun and led in this way would bear fruit: He would get the opportunity of enjoying God here and in this life. This, Valhalaar puts forth as the resultant gain of the Path of Grace, i.e. the Canmaarkkam.

Valhhalhaar discloses that he has been divinely ordained to redeem the worldly-minded who have forgotten God—to ennoble the selfish people, who, enmeshed by personal ambitions, are avoiding public service—to cure those, who infected by dirty discriminations, have missed the natural emotions of love. He sings on that he has been ordained to mend the earth-bounds who are dark within and bright without and bring them into the folds of the Canmaarkka Cangam and toll for preparing them also to be bestowed with the boons of heaven here on earth. As he has yearned since childhood he met in his life endless changes to wipe out the misery of the masses and he, by the grace of God, was provided with the strength to carry out that mission. Therefore, he says, has he come as the chosen Messiah of God assigned for this service. On hearing this, we are reminded of the words of Lord Krishna that he would come whenever Dharma gets undermined and Adharma struts.

Service of living beings that Valhhalhaar prescribes has one thing as the basis—compassion. The important item in his programme of service is removing the hunger of the poor and the hunger of all living beings. The next one is refraining from killing any living being by anybody motivated by any of the reasons—anger, enmity, personal good and national cause even. And another important virtue is abstinence from flesh-eating. The factors that were mainly responsible for his attainment of the highest God experience are his committed mission of compassionate service and his boundless love for God. The compass of his compassion knew no bounds. He would wither at the sight of withering crops. Such a 'Sea of compassion' he was. He was an accomplished Siddha physician. He treated those who came to him. He extended aid to the poor directly and through his admirers. He launched a vigorous campaign against hunger. He established the *Cattiya tarnai caalai* in Vadaluur and arranged amply to provide food for the poor every day. His was totally and thoroughly a life of service. This service aspect is the soul of the *Cutta Canmaarkkam*.

Among these varied modes-of service what Valhhalhaar insists most, is relief of hunger? It is our duty to relieve the hunger of a sinner even, Valhhalhaar instructs. In view of the prevailing conditions in India the service of eradicating the evil of hunger is one of the most important tasks. All the legislative measures that are undertaken to drive out poverty, programmes of industrial development and employment opportunities and all of the charitable activities are essentially the means of mitigating the malignant monster, Hunger. The primary problem facing the under-developed countries is poverty. Only on the salvation from the clutches of poverty, one would have inclination to think about God. For the poor, God appears in the form of food. Settling the evil of poverty is service of God, asserts Valhhalhaar. The most important act of *Jivakaarunyam*, the compassionate service, is the relieving of the hungry from the ills of hunger. While asserting that *Jivakaarunyam* is the sole means of attaining God, Valhhalhaar writes:

"If there exists not hunger, the living beings would not depend on each other for the sake of food (when he mentions "Ceevarkalh" he includes other creatures and plants). If aid is not expected and asked for, the act of give does not arise. If it does not arise,

Jivakaarunyam, the virtue of compassion, will not get manifested. In the absence of its manifestation, God's Grace cannot be gained. Therefore, even hunger, is a God-given instrument that helps."

Having the views of Valhhalhaar in mind, we shall turn to the problems of the present day. The wars that are fought or ideologies and the preservation of dominations are not evils beyond control. They can be stopped. The United Nations organisation is there for that purpose. But the heads of states have not a sincere concern for avoiding wars. They are after domination. Those who are power-hungry gather on one side and those who oppose domination collect on the other side, and the consequent atmosphere of settling their differences through war rapidly springs up. The salvation for this danger is in the Grace Path of Saint Valhhalhaar. He envisages the one world that has no national barriers to brotherhood. He does not stop with dreaming it—he proceeds to, and projects a practical charter. That is the right of universal integration. He illuminates that the people of the world have a right. All are the creation of the Lord, the Great Grace Effulgence. So they are his children, and therefore brothers. Valhhalhaar advises men to nurture that brotherhood shunning the attachments to nationality, race, language, religion and ideologies. He advocates actively this human bondage. Treating all as our kin and equals is the supreme virtue. This universal Brotherhood is expressed as an ideal in Cankam poetry. Kambar shows it as a vein in the character of Rama. It is Valhhalhaar who rose to project and propagate Universal Brotherhood as a practical path and ideal that can lead to the abolition of war and all evil deeds and the advancement of mankind. The integration resulting from the belief and practice of brotherhood alone can save this world, and not the distinctions of nationality, government, religion, dogma and class. Because of this conviction and because of his mystic vision in which he saw the presence of God within and without and also in every creature, he sings:

"Oh Gracious Great Effulgence, Father mine, Mother dear, My Supreme Master, My King, Oh, the true one that transcends the reaches of learning."

"Thou art within. Thou art without everywhere and in everything; Oh, True Ambrosia, who dispelled the debates over religions and dogmas."

We must feel universal brotherhood and call the people in other corners of the globe as "brothers." We should not take the differences of nationality seriously and debate over the demarcation of nations and differences of nationalities. Valhhalhaar thunders that the time has come to transcend these differences and extends his clarion call to unite in Universal Brotherhood.

So far, closely following the course of the Saint's thinking, we discussed the virtues that are to be pursued to attain God experience and about the Supreme ideal of compassionate service for the living ones. We shall now pass on to the other basic aspect of his Cuita Canmaarkkam that is the constant God consciousness, and to the practice of presenting at His Feet our desires, and begging for fulfilment.

His consciousness of God can now be seen by taking a Song of the Saint. It stands as a model as to how we should dwell in the thought of God. He melts inward and pours out.

"Would I forget Thee ? Never my Lord. If I forget I would die at once. Not for a moment can I hold life, I swear on your name. If you forget me, what would I do ? Where would I take resort ? To whom would I weep out my pains ?"

"Oh, the merciful more than mother own, even if you forget, on the faith that your Grace that protects all the universe would not forget, Master. I remain here still. Forget not. This is the hour Grace—Effulgence ! Come into me."

The song given above shows that for Valhhalhaar, God had become everything in life. Hence, he sings that "he cannot forget Him and if he does, he would die. As God and his life were one, his life and compassion were one inextricably fused." If the feeling of compassion fades out of him his life also would go—this was his state of mind and plane of evolution. Therefore, compassion and God consciousness, the two vital foundations of Canmaarkkam were life itself for him.

"Thou, My master. Thou revealed unto me to have the perception that Mercy and Civam are the only things true. And Thou, made me known that the rest are only the course of illusion. Thus I am blessed."

"Gracious Lord, don't you know, even while in troubles, the love for you never fades out in me."

Thus he used to disclose his heart to God. As he himself tells elsewhere, God consciousness and compassion had fused into one in his mind. Therefore he makes the following statement:

"My Lord, If I have to remain without forgetting you, you should bequeath me with the Grace-force which is Grace-Light with the strength of Grace—so that I can do service to the living ones by compassion. Even if you forget my prayer for your compassion, your Grace, the root of it, would not forget. Only on that faith, I live on." This unparalleled the unification of compassion and God-consciousness he had in his heart is the life basis of the Cutta Canmaarkkam. Having this in mind he gave the nomenclature for this faith as "Arulh NeTi", the Path of Grace. This unique unification in heart should become the axis of life of the people of the world in the future. To him, compassionate service was God-consciousness and God-consciousness was compassion.

He yearns that this God-consciousness should remain as God-experience permanently and his service to the living beings should continue for ever. And so he burns with the noble desire that the inevitable cessation to life—the death—should never fall on him. So he pleads to the Lord to transform his life and body that are bound by Time into a higher life and body that do not perish under the tyranny of Time. He begs the Lord fervently to take his life and body and bless him with His Life and His Body. He beseeches Him to release the divinity in him fully. We have to interpret this request as a prayer for the Deathless Life. Follows the "content" of the connected Arudpaa:

"Lord Nadaraja who dances in mercy, listen to my prayer. I can no more stand the

sufferings. My king, I cannot withstand. Enough are the torments. Redeem me from the dread of the sufferings. Take my coils, life and the like and grant in Grace Thy Body and Thy Life. Spare my distress, suffering and fear. Take in total all my frame, nature, life and acquisitions. Bless me with your form frame, riches and your all powerful Bliss of Grace, love and the burning thirst for divine knowledge. Nurturing me with these boons is your obligation. I have surrendered in complete faith. Forsake me not."

Submitting himself in total surrender Valhhalhaar beseeches God to grant him the blessedness of doing permanent service and the experience of God. He shows the ways and means for the fulfilment. An aspirant for the *path* of the Cutta Canmaarkkam should place his desires and wrongs at the Feet of God and cry out his prayers and pray for Grace. He would redeem the grievances and forgive the foul-deeds. The adoring attributes of Cuntaramurti Naayanar glorifying God as "the Graceful one who pardons the faults and precepts to shy away from doing faults" may be recalled here. "If ever I commit any mistake thou should forgive" sings again Valhhalhaar. The love filled heart of Valhhalhaar, assuming our mistakes as his, languishes. Because of his immeasurable love for us, he petitions to God to pardon us.

The two vital aspects of the Cutta Canmaarkkam, compassionate service and God consciousness, were referred to previously. The Cattiya Taruma Caalai, in Vadaloor is the institution he raised as a symbol of compassionate service. The fire he lit in its kitchen is still flaming. Likewise, the institution he raised to illuminate the public on the real nature of God experience is Cattiya Njaana Capai. Cattiya tarumam is service for the living things. Cattiya Jnaanam is seeing ever inside our soul which is the seat of wisdom, the presence of God, the Graceful Great Effulgence, melting in piety for him and merging with Him. Cattiya Jnaanam is eternal knowledge, and ever living experience. That is deathless life. That is the Supreme life that is led permanently by doing service, in complete union with God's Blissful Brilliant form of Light. It is the Supreme, Great Life in which the Divine Bliss is enjoyed by becoming one with God Himself. Valhhalhaar won that divine life here on this planet and in this life. Of that Supreme experience, he sings in his deathless poetry, the great poetry of divine love, the Tiru-aradpaa.

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Raseśvara Śaivism

Raseśvara system is more a science than a School of Philosophy. It does not propound any new metaphysical, ethical or epistemic theory. But still it is included amongst the systems of philosophy, even by such a great authority as Mādhava in his *Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha*, because it is concerned with a way to final emancipation (Mukti). In act, Mādhava himself begins with referring to the acceptance by this system of the essential identity of the individual self with the Lord, in common with some other Śaiva systems.

Although Mādhava represents this to be a Śaiva system, yet it would be a mistake to think that the discovery of different methods of processing and purifying mercury so as to make it efficacious in giving perdurable body to the user of it, was exclusively made by the followers of Śaivism only no doubt the Śaivas made the largest number of discoveries, but others also made substantial contributions to the mercurial science. In some of the available works, which are collections of researches on mercury, we find references to the contributors to this science, other than the Śaivas. Thus, *Rasopaniṣad*, which aims at giving the essence of the practices, prevalent in different schools, mentions, besides Vātula, which is one of the recognised Śaivāgamas, such schools as Prābhara, Brāhmā, Vaiṣṇava, Aindra, Śāṅkara, Śaukra and Bṛhaspati Mata. And Mādhava himself refers to the admission of the perdurable body by the followers of Vaiṣṇavism, such as Garbhāśrīkānta Miśra, who admits that the body of Narasiṁha is per is perdurable and that it was actually seen as such by Sanaka etc.

The Buddhas also made substantial contributions to it. Nāgārjuna, as we have stated earlier, is said to have gone abroad, brought mercury from there, processed and purified it so as to make it capable of converting iron into gold. He is also mentioned in the list of the persons, who became Siddhas in consequence of the use of the purified mercury. He is also referred to as an original contributor to the mercurial science among twenty-seven such persons by Vāgbhaṭa in his *Rasa Ratna Samuccaya*.

The Persisting Tradition

The tradition of the mercurial science seems to have persisted for centuries. In the list of the authorities contributors, in addition to the names, unknown to the history of Sanskrit literature, there are names of the wellknown persons also. And there is sufficient evidence to justify the identification of the persons, referred to therein, with the historical. Such two names are (1) Nāgārjuna (Circa 120 A.D.) and (2) Bhagavad Govindapāda (780 A.D.). The research on mercury, therefore, seems to have been carried on for about six hundred years. The results of these researches are contained in the large number of books, available even now on the subject.

Some of these works admit of arrangement in an historical order. The original material on the subject is found mainly in the Śaiva Āgamas or Tantras; and subsequent works are mostly based on them. In some of the Tantras, there is a mere reference to the processing and purifying of mercury. For instance, in the Rudra Yāmala Tantra, which is primarily concerned with the Yogic practices, as related to different Cakras, there is nothing more than a mere reference to the mercurial science (Pārada Sādhana). Such references seem to be referred to in the Rasāmava, which is a very authoritative work on the Rasasvara system, because Mādhava quotes from it mostly.

It may be pointed out here that the Rasāmava, as we have it in the printed edition, is fairly authoritative and seems to be a faithful copy of the text, as Mādhava had it before him. All the five quotations from the Rasāmava, occurring in the Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha, are found in the Rasāmava (Chowkhamba Edition) on pages 4, 2, 3, 1-161-2 and 4 respectively.

Similarly Rasopaniṣad, work on Rasa, consisting of is simply a digest of bigger work, called Rasa Mahodadhi, consisting of thirty Chapters. It refers to Nāgārjuna as a great authority. And Vāgbhaṭa in his Rasa Ratna Samuccaya distinctly refers to it as the first of those works, on which his digest on Rasa is based. He quotes from the Rasahrdaya also. The verses, quoted from this work in the Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha "Iti Dhana" (203) and "Bhrūyuga" (209), are found in the Rasa Ratna Samuccaya on pages 7 and 10 respectively.

The Value of the Rasa Tradition

The persistence of the tradition of processing and purifying mercury in various ways for different purposes, and its association with great names in the history of Sanskrit literature, such as Nāgārjuna and Bhagavad Govinda Pāda, should compel us to think seriously of the subject. Not only is there vast literature on the subject, but also there are references to Siddhas, which the mercurial science aimed at producing and actually produced, in the standard works in Sanskrit Literature. The Ratnāvali of Harṣa (600 A.D.) and the Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka, who probably belonged to the beginning of Christian era, refer to Siddha and his powers. Kallaṭa and Somānanda are wellknown

Siddhas amongst Kashmir Śaiva philosophers, Bhagavad Govinda Pāda, the teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, was a recognised Siddha.

But there is a prejudice against the authenticity and correctness of the statements, which are found in the books in Sanskrit, particularly when they deal with the scientific subjects; and more so if they belong to the Tāntric literature. No doubt the Tāntric literature, even when dealing with a scientific subject, such as Chemistry, is not free from the influence of religion and mixes up religion with science and talks of things, which to a person familiar with the modern Chemistry, sound ridiculous: for instance, acquisition of a body, that is free from death and aging and conversion of iron into gold. But assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Tāntric literature lacks the spirit of the science of today and contains extremely exaggerated statements about the powers of the chemical processes and preparations, of which it talks; are we justified in ignoring and reflecting it?

India had a culture, long before the period, to which cultural history of any of the advanced western nations, which have developed various sciences to the modern extent, could be traced. She knew of the chemicals. She had her Chemistry, Metallography, Metallurgy, Mineralogy and Medical system, etc. If, therefore, we want to know, what Indian genius did on these subjects in the distant past, the only source, that we can rear to is the Tāntric. And approaching the Tāntric literature from the point of view of the modern sciences, we find enough material therein, as has been testified by the researches of Pro. P.C. Ray, recorded in his Hindu Chemistry.

The religious element that we find mixed up with the treatment of a scientific subject, is nothing but the reflection of the main tendency of the period, during which Tantras were written. And the exaggerated statements about the powers of chemical processes and preparations, even if they be accepted to be such, can well point to the ideals of Chemistry and other sciences. And it is interesting to learn that Russian scientists, like O.B. Lepeshinskaya, are carrying on researches with a view to discover something for "prolonging man's life span." It would, therefore, be of great historical value and may be of some practical also, to know what writers in India have said on such a problem.

The Scientific Aspect of the Raseśvara System

The Raseśvara system presents the crowing phases of the Indian system of medicine, called Āyurveda. Among the eight well recognised branches of Āyurveda, medicine, surgery and midwifery etc., Rasāyana is wellknown. The Raseśvara system presents an advance on the earlier conception of Rasāyana. According to Caraka, Rasāyana was efficacious in prolonging life, strengthening memory etc. and restoring youth. But the Raseśvara system holds that mercury (Rasendra) processed and purified, in accordance with the ways and means, stated in the authoritative texts on the system, is capable of giving immortality (Amaratva) to the user.

The Raseśvara system maintains that alchemy is an effective science. It asserts that mercury, processed and purified in the manner, given in the literature on the system, if mixed with an other metal, such as iron, copper, silver and tin etc. in proportion of one thousandth of the total weight of the other metal, converts it into gold. It gives information about everything that is necessary for such a processing and purification of mercury. It states the medicines, metals, and mechanical contrivances, necessary for the said purpose. It gives colour taste and smell and other details to identify the herbs. It states the characteristics of the places, where they can be found.

It holds that metals can be given any colour, that the original natural colour of any metal can be changed, and states the ways and means of doing so. It classifies vegetables, plants and trees on the basis of their metallic content. It states the characteristics of the regions where mines of different metals exist and the ways and means of purifying metals.

It claims to give very correct ways and means of processing and purifying mercury, which if and when used, makes the body of the user such as can walk on water, can go thousands of miles without feeling fatigued, as cannot be bound and restrained by iron chains, cannot be cut or pierced by any weapon and cannot be burnt by fire; as can fly in the air, can talk to gods in heaven and can come back to earth.

Religious Aspect of the Raseśvara System

According to this system, there is no antagonism or opposition between science and religion: they go hand in hand. There are certain religious practices to be maintained and certain religious rites to be performed in order to attain success in processing and purifying mercury so as to get freedom from death, diseases and old age through its use. The internal repetition of a certain set of symbolic sounds (Mantrajapa), the spiritual initiation and worship of the phallic form of Śiva, made up of mercury (Rasaliṅga) are all necessary. And finally success in the undertaking depends upon His Grace. It recognises caste system and admits that birth in a higher caste, which means life in a certain atmosphere, makes a man better fitted, to follow this system; but it holds that birth in a lower caste is no barrier; that a Śūdra can follow this system as well as can a Brāhmaṇa. It asserts the importance of the teacher, emphasises the necessity of devotion to him and warns against the changers of doing the practical side without the supervision of the teacher.

Philosophical Aspect of the Raseśvara System

The system of philosophy, on which the mercurial science is based, is different from that which serves as the basis of the medical science as presented by Caraka. The origin of Āyurveda, as a science, which aims at preserving the health of the healthy and curing the diseases of the suffering, is traced to the Atharva Veda. But the philosophy, on

which the science was based in the early stages, as we find in Caraka Saṁhitā, was a mixture of the principle of the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta, with slight modifications. Thus, we find the acceptance of the Vaiśeṣika categories, universal, particular, substance, quality, action and inherence by Caraka. The three means of right knowledge, perception, inference and verbal testimony are admitted, though apart from them, reason (Yukti) also is acknowledged as a valid means. The theory of perception is identical with that of the Vaiśeṣika. Three types of inference, as found in the Nyāya, are admitted.

Caraka follows the Sāṅkhya in presenting the twenty-four constituents of Puruṣa. But here he identifies Puruṣa with Prakṛti, for the simple reason that both are Avyakta. In presenting Puruṣa in the light of the Vaiśeṣika, however, he talks of Puruṣa as a configuration of six, i.e., five elements, ether etc., with the principle of sentiency (Cetanā) as the sixth. He talks of the principle of sentiency (Cetanā) also as a 'Dhātu.' He holds that Puruṣa is of two types: (1) the one that is a mere configuration, as stated above; and (2) the other, which is a mere principle of sentiency (Jñāṇ) and as such is beginningless, causeless and eternal; it has objective knowledge, only when it is associated with the means of knowledge. It is pervasive (Vibhu).

He asserts that knowledge and action and fruition of the latter, as well as pleasure, pain, ignorance, birth and death are related to Puruṣa, which is of the nature of a configuration, as has been stated above. The relation of Puruṣa, as pure sentiency, with other Tattvas, is due to predominance of Rajas and Tamas. When, therefore, because of the predominance of pure Sattva, they are cast aside (Nirākṛta), the main is on the sure way to liberation. He states the means to purify Sattva, which, when purified, shines like the sun, free from dust, cloud and mist, or like a lamp in a breezeless place. Consequently true knowledge (Satya Buddhi) arises, the veil of ignorance is torn, the mind withdraws from the external objects and rests on the Self or Ātman, the Reality is grasped and the liberation, the eternal peace, is attained. The liberated sees no difference between himself and the objective world.

Śaiva Dualism as the Basis of Raseśvara System

The Raseśvara system does not follow the technique of the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika or the Vedānta. It adopts the technique of the dualistic Śaivism. We have not so far with; nor do we find in the available literature any section that can give a clear idea of the fundamentals of the Raseśvara as a system of philosophy. We can, however, get a glimpse of the system from stray philosophical references and they clearly demonstrate that it is a Śaiva system.

Thus, in the Rasāmṛta, we find references to 'Śaktipāta' and 'Pāśa.' Īśa and Sadāśiva also are mentioned. Rasa Bhairava, as an object of contemplation, is presented in the same terms, as those in which Śiva is presented; that is, an embodiment of Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Īśāna and Tatpuruṣa. It also talks of Bindu, Nāda, Śakti,

Unmanna and Paramavyoma, and presents the following as higher than the preceding in the order, stated above. It speaks of the liberation as attainment of similarity with Śiva.

In the context of metaphysics, it presents Maheśvara, the Highest Lord, as omniscient and omnipotent; essentially subtle (Sūkṣmarūpa) and free from all impurities (Nirañjana). Here we find the Dualistic tendency mixed up with the Voluntaristic. The Highest Lord is represented to create and annihilate everything by His will. The entire universe springs from Him, has its being in Him and is essentially identical with Him.

The individual self, as has been earlier, is admitted to be essentially identical with the supreme. It has innate impurities and can get freedom from them through His Grace. It can acquire an immortal and unaging body, made up of mercury and mica, through the use of the said metals, processed and purified in accordance with the directions, given in the texts. It can attain liberation in the very life time on the earth and have the supernatural powers, referred to earlier.

Liberation in Life (Jivankumti)

This system holds, as has been shown earlier, that through the use of the processed and refined mercury an unaging, non-decaying or immortal and divine body can be acquired: that this body is made up of pure mercury and mica and as such is different from that which is made up of flesh, blood and bones; that the acquisition of the former does not mean the loss and destruction of the latter: on the contrary, when the mercurial divine body is got, the physical body itself, which is the abode of the divine, becomes so strong that there is no fear of accidental death.

Accordingly it holds that the liberation in life (Jivankumti) is the consciousness or awareness of identity of the soul, which is within the unaging and immortal body, with Śiva (Ajarāmara dehasya Śiva Tādātmya Vedanam).

It is very sceptic about the liberation after death, which is promised by some schools of thought. It says that there is no direct evidence to convince us that the liberation after death does certainly take place, so that we can follow the *path*, pointed out by these systems, without any doubt in our minds about the attainment of the objective. It condemns 'Vāmamārga' as a way to liberation. It is antagonistic to "Aghorapantha."

Accordingly it shows a way to acquiring an unaging and immortal body, the presence of which within the physical body frees it from age, diseases and accidental death, and enables the soul to realise similarity with the Brāhman in the life time. The liberation of such a soul is directly perceptible, because the body, wherein it is, is entirely free from accidental death, diseases and old age, cannot be cut by weapons, known no obstruction of any kind, can freely go to other worlds and come back.

If we take different texts together we find that it admits gradual liberation (Kramamukti). Thus, the first stage seems to be the liberation in life (Jivanmukti). Here there is awareness of qualitative identity of the individual in the perdurable body with the Brāhman. Here the duality of the individual and the Universal persists, much as does the distinction between the actor on the stage and the imaginary hero, with which he identifies himself. A soul that has

a mercurial body is free to realise perfect identity with Śiva in respect of all attributes, at its own will.

It also says that the soul that has a mercurial body goes to the world of Śiva at the end of universal annihilation (Pralayānte). Thus, it seems to talk of the type of liberation, which is technically called "Sālokya." It admits three stages of liberation or three types of liberation: (1) Jivanmuktī, (2) Sālokya and (3) Śivatā (gamana). It holds that the mercurial body of the Siddha dissolves just where the divine bodies of the gods do. The final stage of liberation, according to this system, is the attainment of similarity with Śiva. It is, therefore, a dualistic system.

The Means to Liberation in Life (Jivanmuktī)

It admits that true knowledge is the means to final emancipation; but it asserts that such a knowledge is not possible without the practice of Yoga, the control over breath. The successful practice of Yoga, however, needs a healthy and perdurable body. Such a body can be got through the use of "Rasendra" only. Hence Rasendra is the basic means to liberation; because Yoga, without which the true knowledge is not possible, depends upon it.

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Royal Patronage to Śaivism and its Consequence

Till the end of the sixth century A.D., Śaivism had monopoly in religious field of Orissa having patronisation from the dynastic rulers of the Sungas, the Kushanas and the Guptas. And their feudatories. Specially, from the period of the Sungas an effort was made to create a homogenous society and that homogenous society, during the period of the Guptas, was called the Hindu. Though Orissa was Āryanised prior to the period of the Sungas, Brāhmanisation was fallen short and the same was accelerated with the immigration of the Mitras of Central Asia into India. The Brāhmanas were above the limitation of priesthood. They were torch-bearers of Indology. But the Mitras mixed with indigenous people and took priesthood to their hands and made the tribal priests to be exalted to their status. So the Brāhmanas of Indian origin came down to be confined within priesthood. They penetrated into the tribal belts and forbidden lands with the torch of wisdom in hands and threw light on kings, feudatories and officers. Any patronisation to religion and deities was enacted through the Brāhmanas.

The epigraphic records of the dynastic rulers, the Matharas, the Nalas, the Vīgrahas and the Bhanjas, show that ■ beginning of the 7th century A.D., they had donated lands to the immigrant Brāhmanas of the South and of Madhyadesa for religious purposes. Among the donees, the Brāhmanas with Swami, Sarman and Bhatta titles were generally patrons of Śaivism. About the Śaiva creed of Swamis, James Todays, "the priests are sometimes called Goswami which means controller of senses. In Udaipur of Mewar the Goswami bears significance with a crescent on the forehead. They smear the body with ashes. They enjoy high favour in Udaipur. They live in monasteries scattered over the country. Śiva is their patron. They make use of intoxicating herbs and spirituous liquors." In the South now there are Brāhmanas with Swami titles. Now there are Sarmas in Orissa who are mainly Yogis of Śaiva creed. Most probably, when the Yogis were discredited they became outcaste. In ancient time there were Janasthānas in Keunjhar, Bhubaneswar and Srinivas in Ganjam district. There were also Janasthānas in Tungabhadra Valley and Achichatra in Madhyadesa.

It was a common practice with the Brahmācaris to wander over the country. Romila Thapar remarks about the Brahmācaris of Tungabhadra Valley that they were philosopher-Brāhmanas called Brachmānes. They wander about completely naked. References to god was very frequent among them. They were free of all duties to the state except that of state sacrifices. Romila Thapar thinks of them to be Jainas. But their reference to god does not speak about their Jaina creed, rather it speaks about their Śaiva creed. The inscription scribed below the Nataraj image reveals that some Satrubhanja had gifted away gold coins in Sankhakara Matha of Achichatraka, Manibhadra Matha of Lakhesvara and other Mathas. He had constructed dwellings and Viharas for them. Among the dwellers there were scholars in philosophy, science, grammar and in many fields of knowledge.

Anantavarman, among the Matharas, ■ his Siripuram Plates (No. 10) and Srungavarapukota Plates (No. 11), is seen credited with the royal epithet 'Paramamahesvara' and 'Matapitṛpadanudhyata' and for this he had donated lands for establishment of Agrahara. Among the Brāhmana donees Matrutarman was the leader. It was their duties to do things to increase religious merits, perhaps, of Śaivism. His grandson, Padmasarman is seen receiving grant from Pṛthivi Maharaj at Virajanagar (No. 15). So also Agnisarman in the Koroshonda Plates of Visakha Varman is told to have received donation on behalf of Parnadevati of Bhadrak from a pious lady named Ranghalli. It would be seen that royal patronage to the Brahmanas had encouraged them to move from place to place to develop Śiva cult in Orissa.

During the 5th-6th Centuries Tustikara was a patron of Śaivism. Though Stambheśvari was his tutelary deity, he had patronage towards Stambheśvara, Śiva. Because the Śaiva shrines at Belkhandi and Talabhamara of Kalahandi district were, most probably, his contributions. The Nalas of Puskari were Mahamahesvaras. The Gangas came in contact with Kalinga towards the end of 5th century were Śaivas. During 6th century A.D., Anantavarman had installed Gokarnesvara on the summit of Mahendragiri. The Bhanjashad done a lot for Śaivism. Among their works, Khichingeśvari, Nataraj and Hara-Gauri were great contributions to Śaivism.

Royal patronage was mainly intended for infusion of divine right of kingship into the minds of the subjects. By this the real owners of the deities were kept away. Patronisation with 6th century A.D., had added forms to the formless deities of local importance. The tribal and the sophisticated people were mainly in the hands of religious magicians and sorcerers. The Brāhmanas penetrated into royal courts with the weapons of Sanskrit learning and *tantra-yogic* performances. It was not difficult for them to show results as demanded by the kings. So the legitimization in worship was shifted to the Brāhmanas.

The Matharas had kept the seed of Vaisnavism preserved for about 180 years to germinate. It would be seen that Anantasaktivarman and Pravanjanavarman were devotees of Narayan. A long period of about one hundred years intervenes between them, but during that period Vaisnavism could not flourish. The Vaisnavism got a side track in

the 7th Century A.D., to move under the veil of Śaivism. Buddhism flourished with great impetus causing division in royal patronage. During 7th Century the Brāhmana immigrants began to come in large number and a few of them infused the idea of Vaiṣṇavism into the minds of Madhava Varman of the Śailodbhavas and of Sivaraj of Mudgalas to react favourably. Gradually, royal patronage was also diverted to Vaiṣṇavism.

45

The Rudra Śiva

When Rudra claimed as his own the animals into which the ashes of Prajāpati's fiery lake had turned, his shape was indescribably gruesome and his name was Paśupati. The gods had given him both form and name; they had made him Lord of Animals; they had made him Lord of Animals; they had made him Vāstoṣpati, lord of the *vāstu*. Another time, Rudra claimed the animals as his own, those found not on a wasteland but on a sacrificial site where the animals had been left. Then he appeared as a man darkly clad, a man whose identity was revealed by his claim. As Paśupati, their lord, the cattle belonged to him. They had remained on the site, and what is left over (*vāstu*) on the site (*vāstu*) belongs to Rudra. Paśupati, Lord of Animals, shades over into Vāstoṣpati, lord of the *vāstu* in both its meanings. In the wasteland as well as on the sacrificial site he relinquished his claim. Gruesome and uncanny he looked. This Rudra, the fierce god, acted as Śiva the gracious. Rudra assumes one shape or the other; he is both. As fire and as archer he was the determining presence in the primordial scene; the arrow, his fiery sign, shines to this day in the sky.

The first target of the archer was the Father, Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation. So formidable was the archer, the guardian of the transcendental wholeness, that his name could not be mentioned. Prajāpati, who at that time had the shape of an antelope, in order to arrest the arrow of the archer made that Wild Hunter Lord of Animals, Paśupati. This is the ancient account (MS. 4.2.12). Did praajāpati the antelope, investing the Wild Hunter with lordship over animals, implicitly acknowledge him as his Lord? The later version in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* recounts that the gods created this god's shape of terror out of their own horror at Rudra's formidable deed (AB. 3.33). At that time—or in that version—the gods were swayed by emotion, by their own fears, whereas in their creative inspiration they gave to that god the shape of Vāstoṣpati.

Vāstoṣpati, Paśupati, and also Prajāpati are titles more than names. They designate the particular mode in which a god operates. It is by their actions that the gods are known. They have cognisances but are without stereotyped shape, though Paśupati was created by the gods as a symplegma of horror. Rudra, the savage god, too horrendous even for his name to be said aloud, the primordial guardian of the absolute, becomes the guardian and Lord of Animals as well as the guardian and lord of the *vāstu*. The domains over which he rules are the state of nature and the state of art, the passionate, and the

creative self of man. While Rudra assumed this double lordship, the semen of Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, had fallen down on earth. Rudra-Agni had prepared it for Prajāpati, the Father. While it was being shed, the gods created Vāstoṣpati. Agni, the Fire, consumed its copious downpour, and Rudra claimed the cinders and ashes as his own. These turned into animals. Paśupati, Lord of Animals, rules over these creatures of Prajāpati's passion that he had caused to flare up. The formidable guardian of the absolute played an ambiguous, inevitable role. As guardian of the substance of immortality, he entrusted the seed of creation and readied it for the Father, and, too late, attempted to prevent its fall to earth. The involvement of Rudra and Prajāpati is frightening. A straight line leads from the preparation of gods' creation of Vāstoṣpati. This line is crossed by the flight of an arrow. The point of intersection lies in the Father. Rudra carries the action and responsibility, as carrier of the fire seed on the one hand, and as archer and guardian of the Uncreate on the other. Prajāpati is his target and victim. However, the myth of Rudra flows on through new situations prefigured before the sun had risen on the first morning.

Among them his birth is preeminent. In the *Rg Veda* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* Rudra appears full-fledged on the scene, preeminently as a hunter. His different forms or designations, Vāstoṣpati and Paśupati, were created by Prajāpati himself, and by the gods according to their own intuition or emotional reaction. The *Bṛāhmanas* and the *Atharva Veda*, on the other hand, deal with the birth of Rudra, child of Prajāpati.

The birth of Rudra from Prajāpati was adumbrated by the falling of the seed and the gods' creation of a *brahman* from which they formed Vāstoṣpati. The mystery of the seed proceeds from its being made ready for the Father by Agni/Rudra to its being shed by the Father, "conceived" by the gods in their *brahman*, and given form as Vāstoṣpati. The cosubstantiality with Rudra of the seed prepared by Agni/Rudra for the Father and emitted by the Father is part of the genealogy of Agni. Rudra, like Agni, is the son of himself (*tanūnapāt*, cf. *RV*. 1.13.2). His birth as a crying or self-assertive child, moreover, came about in more than one way, though the father is the same whether he is called Prajāpati, or as is the case subsequently in the *Purāṇas*, *Brahmā*.

Before Rudra was born, in myths of the *Bṛāhmanas* he was the god whom the *Śatarudriya* extols and whom the *Rg Veda* (*RV*. 2.33.11) sees ■ fierceness enthroned on the high seat of his chariot the world. The birth of the god as a mode of his manifestation introduces the element of time, and henceforth actions of Rudra will be laid out sequentially, though more in a causal than an historical order. They will be the consequences or the transpositions of the paradigmatic themes, and their reality will be that of perennial symbols. They will form a framework in the narrative of Śiva, which will be filled by many other myths, so that his being emerges from their total inexhaustible accounts.

The Golden Bowl and the Wrath of Prajāpati

Prajāpati wished to procreate. He practiced austerities, he exerted himself. Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, and Dawn were born from him. The four sons of Prajāpati also practiced austerities, and seeing lovely Dawn, their sister, the four sons became excited in holy passion and they shed seed. Prajāpati gathered the sperm in a golden bowl. From this arose the god of a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, a thousand arrows (*KB*. 6.1).

This story, obviously an after-image of the primordial myth, makes Rudra by indirection the son of Prajāpati. Seed is shed as it had been in the primordial scene. However, it was not shed by Prajāpati but by his sons, moved by the appearance of their sister Dawn. They did not have congress with her, the daughter of Prajāpati, nor was there any disturbance; they got excited and were incontinent. Prajāpati collected their sperm in a golden bowl; its height and width were measured by an arrow's flight (KB. 6.1). Prajāpati took to himself the sperm of his own sons. He held it in a vessel of gold, the incoceptible, immortal substance. Prajāpati carried this precious bowl as if it were his womb and he became the parent of the Archer who holds a thousand arrows, his thousand eyes fastened on his target and carried forth by a thousand feet. In this significant, the newborn is Puruṣa or Cosmic Man, hymned in the *Rg Veda* (RV. 10.90). Puruṣa is this whole world (RV. 10.90.2). He is beheld in the figure of man, but he is immeasurably greater. Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet (RV. 10.90.1). A thousand here is not a numeral, but a symbol of immensity. While he is this whole world, Puruṣa exceeds it. Cosmic Man of the *Rg Veda* has no attributes, he has nothing but his body—while the god arisen from the bowl of Prajāpati holds a thousand arrows. Immediately the overpowering figure of this newborn god grasps his father and demands to be given a name (KB. 6.2). Before, when he appeared, an archer in the early dawn of creation, the terror he aroused was in his action, by his aiming at the very act of creation-procreation. None would dare to utter the name of that god. But now he insists upon being named.

He aims at his father Prajāpati, who asks him, "Why do you shoot at me?" The newborn one demands, "Give me a name; without having a name I shall not eat food here." Prajāpati gives him the name Bhava, Existence. But a second time he aims at Prajāpati. He wants a second name, for with only one name he will not eat any food. Prajāpati gives him his second name, Śarva. A third time he aims at his father, repeats his demand, and receives his third name, Paśupati. Still, he will not eat unless he receives one more name. He aims at his father five times more until he has received five more names: Ugradeva, the formidable god; Mahādeva, the Great God; Rudra; Īśāna, the Lord; and Aśani, lightning (KB. 6.2-9), eight names in all. Each one of the names implies a cosmic reality or domain, such as the sun, moon, water, and fire.

What food in the world will sustain this avid being of a thousand eyes and a thousand feet unless it be this entire world? The hunger of Rudra newly born is that of existence. He aims at his father and does not let him go until he has been given by him the eighth name. He held him in his power until he, "eating the food he desires, assuming the form he desires" (TUp. 3.105), receives name after name. When his indwelling power was confirmed by each new name, only then did he relax his hold. He has received his identity and sustenance. He was relentless in his demand and hunger to assimilate, to convert into his own being, to take into himself the entire creation. This is the food by which he lives, and which, As Agni, he consumes. He is now confirmed in this world—his sustenance and substance. He is Cosmic Man, Puruṣa: "Puruṣa alones this entire world, both past and future; he is also the lord of immortality when he mounts

above...through food" (RV. 10.90.2). The new born god takes into himself the whole world. He encompasses the entire earth and exceeds it (ŚUp. 3.14).

The birth of "that god" from Prajāpati presaged in the *raudra brāhmaṇa* took place from Prajāpati in more than one manner. An unknown ascetic, a Vratya swayed by the god within him, stirred the Lord of Generation into consciousness of that gold, the semen in his body; he stirred the Lord of Generation, who then emitted that gold. It turned into a being with a mark on the forehead. The being so marked grew by his innate power and asceticism and became what his "birthmark," the third eye, prognostically showed—the Great God Rudra, the Lord, the one and only Vratya, Ekavratya, the Vratya in excelsis. The unknown Vratya had made him manifest by means of the mind and body of the Lord of Generation. By an organic alchemy *in divinis*, Rudra, the Lord, Īśāna, was born from Prajāpati. The shining gold from within Prajāpati became Īśāna the Lord. Immediately, Ekavratya took up a bow, the bow of Indra, as a token that the power of Indra, king of gods, had passed on to him. Ekavratya with a "mark" on his forehead is as formidable as Rudra risen from the golden bowl of Prajāpati.

If Prajāpati in the *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa* appears a somewhat feminine character carrying the golden bowl in which the seed shed by his sons was gathered, Prajāpati in the book of Vratya in the *Atharva Veda* is the male creator whose seed is imperishable radiance in gold (AV. 15.1.1-2). Hiranyagarbha, the "golden germ," generates by its own power. The birth of Mahādeva, the Great God, takes place by autarky of the Lord of Generation. No female element plays any part whatsoever in this nativity? This is also true of another account of the birth of Rudra from Prajāpati given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Here is it said that when Prajāpati spent himself into creation, all the gods abandoned him except Manyu, Fury, who sparkled like Fire (SB. 9.1.1.6; cf. RV. 10.84.2). Manyu, creative fury, and *tapas*, creative heat, are as close to each other as are Manyu and Kāma, creative desire (cf. AV. 9.2.23). They are degrees and aspects of the creative fire. Prajāpati cried. His tears fell on Manyu, and Manyu became Rudra of a hundred heads, a thousand eyes, and a hundred quivers, his bow strung and his arrow fitted to the string (SB. 9.1.1.6). God Wrath who stayed with Prajāpati is the creative fury of Prajāpati. God Manyu was fecundated by the hot tears of the Lord of Generation, and he became hundred-headed, thousand-eyed Rudra—like unto Puruṣa, the efficient cause of the universe—but he also had a hundred quiver. They belong to Rudra as the fierce archer Śarva, now brought to life by the tears of the Lord of Generation, which inseminated his own fury. In this way, too, Rudra was generated by Prajāpati; he became the son of the Lord of Generation. But it was Rudra-Agni who made this cosmic manifestation of his come about. The fire genealogy of cosmic, hundred-quivered Rudra begins with Agni-Rudra, who prepared the seed for the Father, in whom sexual passion was still in burning when the fire of Rudra's arrow turned it into wrath. Wrath was kindled in Prajāpati by Rudra. Prajāpati's hot tears fell on Manyu and Manyu was born as Rudra's true self. He was Rudra. The gods were afraid of him.

Rudra, whether born as cosmic giant from the golden bowl of Prajāpati, from the gold in the Creator; or from Manyu (Wrath), remains an archer as he was in the primordial

scene. As Puruṣa, Cosmic Man, his hunting ground is the entire world. Woman has no part in either the birth from Manyu or that of the Lord as Ekavrātya, and only participates at a double remove in the birth from the golden bow. The sons of Prajāpati shed their seed by merely seeing their lovely sister Dawn, the daughter of Prajāpati. From that seed in a golden bowl held by Prajāpati, Rudra is born.

The gods who were afraid of Rudra-Manyu were advised by Prajāpati to offer food to him in order to appease him. They offered to him the four hundred twenty-five offerings of the *Śatarudriya* sacrifice, and appeared him with the enormous offering and gradiose litany (SB. 1.1.7). The birth of Rudra/Manyu (SB. 9.1.16) is a sacrificially cosmic even that parallels the birth of the ravenously hungry cosmic archer of the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (KB. 6.1-2). Sacrifices are the food by which gods live. Man provides the food; by sacrificing, he consecrates himself. When Rudra/Manyu, the newborn child of Prajāpati, longed for food, he stood hungry and aflame on the fire altar that had now been completed. Agni had become Rudra. The gods made him immortal (SB. 9.1.1.1).

The gods were not immortal from the beginning. They became immortal by drinking Soma, the elixir of immortality. They were dependent on man, on Soma, and on the sacrifice.

Rudra wanted to be immortal as were the other gods. But he also wanted to be born. His birth was presaged in the primordial dawn. He was born as Wrath, he was born as Puruṣa, Cosmic Man, he was born as the Lord, Ekavrātya, he was born as a child, the son of Prajāpati.

From the beginning, Rudra the Wild God was unlike the other gods. He wanted to be on one level with them ritually. His status as god had to be confirmed sacrificially. Beyond this, his metaphysical reality needed cosmic creation. He had to be born into the world for the cosmos to be his body.

The Memory of the Initial Evil

The *Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths* tells of Prajāpati, who was alone in the beginning. "He desired, 'May I exist, may I reproduce myself!'" He did *tapas*; he practiced austerities (SB. 6.1.3.1). His son would not be a child of uncontrolled passion, such as had seized the Father in the beginning of things, according to the *raudra Brāhmaṇa*. On the contrary, Prajāpati, practiced *tapas*, a technique of concentrating the heat of the body, the vital energy, in ardent meditation, so that its full intensity becomes available for any extraordinary endeavour. It is a technique of asceticism or Yoga like that of the ascent or retention of semen (*ūrdhvaretas*); but unlike the discipline of *ūrdhvaretas*, the practice of *tapas* is not directed toward emancipation only, but also seeks fulfilment of other aims, particularly and only seemingly paradoxically procreation. Prajāpati as the householder, with Uṣas (Dawn) as his wife, held a sacrificial session for a year. The Lord of Generation shed seed ■ Uṣas. In a year, a boy (Kumāra) was born; he cried (SB. 6.1.3.7-8).

A human, homely atmosphere has spread over the primal scene, that violent rape of Dawn, the Father's daughter. Instead, Prajāpati is here the master of the house. He and

Dawn are a couple established in their home, the world. In due course, their child is born. No one interferes with it begetting. The traumatic, portentous incident at the critical moment of the intercourse with Dawn seems forgotten. But the infant cries as soon as he is born. This does not seem surprising in the humanised setting of the story of the birth of a god. However, it worries the boy's father, the Lord of Generation. The mother apparently takes no interest in her child. The god, a newborn child, cries and demands to be named (SB. 6.1.3.9).

Newborn in his shape as Cosmic Archer, he voices the identical demand. In either shape he persists in demanding name after name, eight names in all. Only then is he satisfied. The newborn god is equally clamorous in either of his shapes and he is satisfied when he receives his eighth name. The infant stops crying, and the Cosmic Archer who had aimed at his father releases his hold of Prajāpati when he has received his last name (KB. 6.2.-9). However, the insistence of the newborn god is prompted by an entirely different reason in each of his two shapes.

As Puruṣa or Cosmic Man, the god is born at a sacrificial session and out a golden bowl held by Prajāpati. Arisen, the overpowering figure grasps the father and demands to be given a name, saying, "for without a name assigned, I shall not eat food here" (KB. 6.2) in this world. Bhava, Existence, was the first name given to him by his father (KB. 6.2).

With unforeseen suddenness, the theophany of the Cosmic Archer rising from a golden bowl of an arrow's light's proportions, aims at Prajāpati, although in a forethought Prajāpati had collected the sperm of fire and wind, of sun and moon, his sons whom he had just then created. Prajāpati of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, was alone in the beginning. There was nothing else. He created the earth and the seasons. Desire overcame him to be, to know himself, to procreate and see the living proof of his existence. Subsequently, a boy was born to him and to Uṣas, the Dawn. The child cried; indeed, he wept. Concerned, Prajāpati asked the child the reason for his crying. The boy replied that he cried because he was not freed from evil, for no name had been given him. "Give me a name." The newborn god knew why he cried and demanded to be named? He knew what evil he wanted to be freed from? Many names had to be summoned to free him from the primordial evil when Dawn fled from its scene. The powers that were in him from the beginning had to be evoked at his birth and confirmed by their names. Being called by their names, they guarded him with his own power. Their presence in him accounted for his demand for name after name. The child remembered his past. It lived in his memory. By his memory the newborn god established his identity. Unlike his birth as Cosmic Archer, he bore no visible cognisance.

In both his shapes, as Cosmic Archer and as infant, the newborn god, son of Prajāpati, remembers the past. As Cosmic Archer, his shape proclaims it a hundredfold. In each of these shapes he demands his names eight times, eight names. His father, the Lord of Generation, then names the newborn god: "You are Rudra." And because he gave him that name, Agni became such like... "for Rudra is Agni" (SB. 6.1.3.10). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* furthermore explains by popular etymology that Rudra is so called because he cried (*rud*; SB. 6.1.3.10; cf. TS. 1.5.1.1). The wild God is now the crying, weeping god. But

the newborn god is not satisfied; he knows himself to be mightier even than that name. He asks for one more name, and when that is given to him wants yet another, and is not satisfied until he has received altogether eight names (SB. 6.1.3.10-18). The enormity of the primordial evil is greater than the power inherent in any one of the eight names. Only in their eightfold totality are they commensurate with the primordial evil. Only after receiving all eight does the newborn god ask his father for no other name (SB. 6.1.3.17; VāP. 27.5.16).

When the Father gives his son his first name, his identity at once reveals itself? He is Rudra-Agni, the Wild God, the fire of creation. This is not the first time that the Lord of Generation gave name and status to the god as yet nameless—or whose name should not be uttered. Paśupati, Lord of Animals, was the name the Father had given, in fear, to the archer so that the hunter might spare him. But now Prajāpati gives a name, not to an unknown, threatening, archer but to his own child, knowing in his heart that the newborn god and the hunter are one in essence. Not satisfied with one name only, Rudra asks for more names. Name by name they are promptly given, one after the other as the child goes on asking for them: Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva, and Īśāna, eight in all, including Rudra (SB. 1.3.10-17).

Prajāpati was preoccupied with the primordial drama when the name Śarva, the thrower of the arrow, came to his lips; the name Paśupati came next. Formidable are these names. The next name, Ugra, the Ferocious, conveys their terror. It strikes like lightning (*aśani*), which is another name given to the child; lightning is the manifestation of fire in mid-air. These are names of dread and fire. Bhava, however, connotes Existence. Mahādeva is the Great God, and Īśāna the Lord or Ruler. "These are the eight names of Agni-Rudra. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth" (SB. 6.1.3.18; KB. 6.2-9). The "boy" (Kumāra) is the newborn god. The number eight and nine have secret significance. Assuming the eight names, the boy is the ninth, the new. He is never seen as a mere boy; he is seen in those forms that he has entered one by one (SB. 6.1.3.19). "The great god of eight names" (KB. 6.9) shows his fierce might in his name Ugra. Elsewhere, instead of Aśani "lightning," he is called Bhīma, the Frightful (HGS. 2.8.6-7).

It was a Vrātya wandering about who, in his illumination, saw this entire world extended toward the four directions and pervaded by his god: Rudra in centre, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, and Ugra in the four directions, Mahādeva above and Īśāna in every direction. The eighth name of his god is the Sole Vrātya of the *Atharva Veda*, a transfiguration of the visionary Vrātya. All the eight names are invoked in the *Yajur Veda* (VS. 39.8) and receive their offerings.

Only Rudra and Paśupati are mythic names. Bhava signifies existence itself, and he is the ruler and Lord, Īśāna (RV. 2.33.9); he is the Great God, Mahādeva. In cosmic greatness the newborn god received his ancient names from his father Prajāpati. They were chosen by Prajāpati as they had been chosen before, from many others to whom homage is paid. In the *Śatarudriya*, the hymn of Rudra a hundredfold, though even in this laud not all the names are invoked under which the god had then been known. Thus he

is called in the *Rg Veda* (RV. 6.49.10) Father of the world or Father of living beings. Though this name was not, could have been, among those that readily came to Prajāpati's mind, its meaning was in abeyance and waited to raise its head in the ongoing myth of the newborn god.

Uttering name after name, Prajāpati assigned to each a domain. The domain was neither territorial nor situated in any specific direction, as were the stations of the archers in the cosmic pyramid of the Sole Vratya. The domains were qualitative and elemental, ingrained in the substance of the cosmos, its order, and man's consciousness of it. The newborn god did not stop crying until he had received his eighth name. He knew that he needed each name, together with the reality or domain that Prajāpati was going to give to him.

The Investiture with the Cosmos

The eight domains are those of the Vasus, the eight component powers of the Universe. These ancient gods dwell each in his sphere, and are one with it in name; from them develops the physical world. Their ogdoad is invoked in the *Rg Veda* (RV. 2.31.1; 3.8.8; 6.62.8; 10.48.11; 10.125.1; 10.128.9). It consists of the pentad of the five elements. They are earth, the support of all creatures, fire that warms, illumines, and destroys them; water, purifying and fertilising; air that breathes through the universe; and ether or space that pervades them all. To the pentad of existence constituted by the elements are added sun and moon, by whose light time is measured in hot glow and cold sheen. Together with the five elements, they form the heptad of existence. To this heptad are added the stars to form the ogdoad of the eight domains or realities of the manifest cosmos (cf. SB. 11.6.3.6; BrUp. 3.9.3; MBh. 1.60.17). Prajāpati assigns fire, water, plants, air, lighting, rain, moon, and sun to Rudra as his domains (SB. 6.1.3.10-17), adumbrating, as does Ṛṣi Taṇḍi in his hymn in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh. 13.16.35.54), the eight concrete realities (*aṣṭamūrti*) with which Prajāpati endowed his son. The Purāṇas name them clearly. They describe the newborn child as it sat crying—glowing red and deep blue (*nīla-lohita*) through both the sectors of the spectrum—on the lap of its father (VāP. 27.3.5; PP. 5.3.189.90). To this crying child his father—whom the Purāṇas know as Brahmā—assigns his eight domains. They are those of the ogdoad of the Vasus: the pentad of the elements and the dyad of sun and moon (VāP. 27.17-19). However, the eighth domain with which Prajāpati endows his son is not that of the far-away luminaries: their place within the body of the eight realities, the *aṣṭamūrti*, is ceded to man, the sacrificer or initiated *brāhmanaḥ* (VāP. 27.19), who is an embodiment of mind. "Mind is the form of the Sacrificer" (SB. 12.8.2.4). Mind embodied in man, among the domains of Rudra, takes the place of the stars among the Vasus. Mind first came into existence when life stirred in the dark void of the primeval flood (RV. 10.129.4). In the eightfold cosmos of Rudra, his eighth domain, mind, is within man, the microcosm.

But not only man as mind, but also everyman is Rudra's domain (LP. 2.13.20), for man the microcosm is homologous with the cosmos. Not only does the eyes see with the

light of the sun and the glow that is Rudra (*VāP.* 27.40; *LP.* 2.13.24-25), but each of the different faculties and functions of the living being represents one of the eight forms of the god. For instance, the vital energies (*prāṇa*) are the domain of Īśāna (*VāP.* 27.43); Paśupati's domain is in the digestive fire (44). Rudra dwells in the functioning of the total psycho-physical body of man; as Mahādeva he lives in man's immortal being and he comes into existence anew, again and again.

The newborn god, having received his names and stations, makes no further demand on Prajāpati. He is freed from the evil whose memory had made him cry. The evil of that first morning of the primordial aeon is now allayed. Now Kumāra the "boy" starts out into his new world. He is the "ninth," "the New," in and as each of the eight realities of the cosmos and man, the microcosm. Rudra had to be *born* to end the memory of the primordial evil. It persisted until, name by name and reality upon reality, the evil was eradicated from his memory. Now a new world under the dispensation of Rudra begins. It is permeated by Rudra in each of its eight realities. This sacred ogdoad comprises the pentad of the elements and of the senses that perceive them and the dyad of the controlling agents, sun and moon, the measures of time. These luminaries act at the same time as symbols of the hot and the cold and of current caused by them. Mind or consciousness of the initiated completes the triad of the elements and luminaries, as also the ogdoad. The newborn god is all of them in one. The memory of the primordial evil is not allayed until last name, Mahādeva, the Great God, is given to the child. The Great God entered into his domains as Aṣṭamurti, God in the cosmos and in man (cf. *LP.* 1.41.35-36; cf. *Dśotra* 9).

The dialogue of Prajāpati with his demanding newborn son, dark blue and red in colour, is a rite of expiation devised by the newborn god and performed by Prajāpati. It was Rudra's memory of the primordial evil that prompted the dialogue.

In the ongoing myth of Rudra/Śiva, events unfold across the aeons. Similarly, many hundreds of years may lie between different versions of the particular myth, or between the narrative and its related visual image. Among the most perfect works of Indian art are the images of Śiva dancing. The image of Śiva Naṭarāja, the king of the dance, cast in bronze or carved in stone is a visual embodiment of Śiva Aṣṭamūrti, or the eight realities. In images of this and other modes of Śiva's dance, South Indian sculptures from the eighth century onward show the figure of the dancing god with his gyrating body standing on the prostrate shape of an infant with a snake in its hand. The name of the prostrate shape is Apasmāra Puruṣa, and it is generally taken to be a demon and a symbol of ignorance. However, its name says that the infant shape is that of "a being without memory." Its lusciously modeled flesh, neither plagued nor activated by memory, is pinned down by the foot of the dancing lord. The chubby babe Forgetfulness offers the greatest contrast to the newborn child of Prajāpati. That child cried for its name in order to be freed from evil that it remembered so well. Because the newborn god remembered the primordial evil, that memory kept the ancient evil in abeyance as the infant demanded its names and received them from Prajāpati. The world of Rudra/Śiva began young and

a new. But for the painted memory of the newborn god, no demands would have been made and no response elicited; the world of Śiva would not have come to be for Śiva Aṣṭamūrti to dance in the cosmos and in the heart of man.

The Wild God, guardian of the Uncreate and avenger of its violation, had to fail in preventing the violation so as to allow the seed to fall that he as Agni had prepared. The fire seed of creation deposited in the Father held the mystery of its origin and that of its descent. Rudra-Agni, the bearer of the seed, was to be born from that seed, metaphysically his own self and son, mythically the son of the Lord of Generation, Prajāpati. The newborn god wrested from Prajāpati his recognition and confirmation as ruler, *Īśāna*, and as *Mahādeva*, the Great God in his domain, the universe and man, in which he is embodied. And he is known as the eight-formed Lord who is identical with all the worlds (LP. 2.13.29). The world is suffused with his presence, which is encountered wheresoever, in whomsoever. The *Śatarudriya*, the hundredfold laud of the Lord, knows where to find him; the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, dating from nearly two thousand years later, knows how to show that he has been found. Giving help to everyone and showing kindness to all is called the highest worship of the Lord of eight forms (LP. 2.13.35-36).

The Birth from Brahmā

Preparations for Rudra's Birth

The world of Rudra has come to exist. It will run its course, and, in the end, it will be consumed by Rudra, who is Agni. Fire, the sole witness of the dissolution of this cosmos. His eight realities constitute the substance of the cosmos and of man, the microcosm. The two are homologous, and they also interact, for man represents and comprehends them. As such, he himself is the eighth reality, namely, mind (*manas*). Man, here, is the initiate, the mental exemplar in the universe of the Aṣṭamūrti, the scheme of things to be. In the context of Śiva's myth, however, man has not yet been created in the flesh. To bring about man in his physical concrete existence as human being will be the task assigned to Rudra-Śiva by his father, the Lord of Generation, who is known in the *Purāṇas* as Brahmā, the Creator. He will create the aeon where the noumenal universe that is Rudra's body will come to life in all its parts, and its ingredients will combine in sentient creatures borne to live and to die.

The Father who shed the seed, Prajāpati, and Brahmā, successively in the ongoing narrative of sacred tradition, play the role of the Creator. They are identical essence, though mythically differentiated from the *Rgveda* to the *Purāṇas*. They are assigned to different aeons.

Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, felt alone. When a son was born to him, the relation of Rudra to the Father at the dawn of a former aeon was redeemed as soon as Prajāpati, at the newborn god's demand, invested the crying child with the constituents of the cosmos as they would exist in the universe and in man. Out of his own loneliness,

before his son was born, Prajāpati gave to Rudra the double assurance of his existence in the universe and in man. In the womb of Rudra man would not be alone. He would live with the cosmos, sharing the eightfold reality of Mahādeva, the Great God, Īśāna, the Lord. The cycle of the fire seed of creation had fulfilled itself in the birth of Mahādeva, the Great God, born of Prajāpati. When this aeon passes into the night of cosmic dissolution, another aeon will arise when Rudra will be born again from the Creator, whose name will now be Brahmā.

Man himself had not as yet come to exist, and after a long sleep Brahmā awoke in a new aeon (*kalpa*) (LP. 1.41.37-38). The past aeon in which Rudra was born of Prajāpati saw the Great God indwelling in the cosmos, throughout existence, and in the consciousness of man. That aeon with its universe was ideational. It adumbrated the forecast; it provided the setting of a world where man would live and die. As yet man had not been born in the flesh. He existed only as the vehicle of mind. He was the consciousness in creation, himself as yet not created. Though this aeon had passed, its framework would emerge at the end of the cosmic night, and the world of Aṣṭamūrti would be filled with human beings destined to live and to die. But in between these two acons night brooded over the waters of the cosmic flood in the darkness of dissolution. "This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep" (M. 1.5). Brahmā, the creator, mediated on the principles of things-to-be evolving out of prematter (*prakṛti*) (cf. VP. 1.5.3-4), and there appeared to him delusion covered with darkness (*tamas*) in which the real form of things remained unknown, in which next to darkness appeared illusion, great confusion, anger, and blindness (SP. 7. 1.12.1-2; cf. VP. 1.5.3-6; BhP. 3.12.2). Brahmā was not pleased with this creation of his (BhP. 3.12.3). In this desire to create living beings who themselves would procreate, he exerted himself and created couples who could mate and produce offspring only once, at the end of life. But this he deemed unsatisfactory, and he created a quantity of living creatures, so many that the three worlds were crowded, without room to breathe (MBh. 12.284. 13-14). It was a catastrophe. Again he practiced *tapas*. He exerted himself, and from his mind four or seven or more sons were born to him (SP. 7.1.12.19-20; VāP. 9.18-19; MP. 3.5-8; KūP. 1.10.12-13; BhP. 3.12.3-4). However, they were disinterested in the course of the world: they had achieved mastery over their senses, they were free from desire, they were *yogis* and *munis*, who had silenced their roving minds. They did not produce progeny. Through Yoga power they held their seminal energy upward, since Release was their ultimate aim (BhP. 3.12.4-5; SP. 7.1.12.20-21). Brahmā's purpose was not served by them (MP. 4.26-27). He exerted himself once more, and once more his progeny were mind-born sages (VāP. 9.67-69). Something was going counter to Brahmā's intention. First, the dark night of dissolution seemed to be clinging to his mind, the anguish for creation smothered its drive; Brahmā was critical and self-destructive. Brahmā, the creator of this new aeon, reacted to his frustration altogether differently from the Father, who, at the beginning of things, almost demented by physical frustration, lost his bearing. Acons separate the Creator, the

Father, from Brahmā. Having passed through the dark night of gestation prior to their birth, his mind-born sons, when born, failed Brahmā in his purpose to people the world. Being *yogis* of undeviating self-control, and born from his mind, they were embodied reactions to the primordial loss of control of the Father. They acted against the incontinence of the Father in that distant past that had slumbered uneasily in Brahmā's mind whence they were born. It is said that on finding them averse to the procreation of progeny, Brahmā became despondent and desperate about the creation of living beings. He exerted himself in most severe austerities; his mind concentrated on the creation of mankind. Nothing happened. He waited in grief and his grief turned to anger. He cried in anger. Goblins and ghosts come out of his tears. Brahmā swore at himself when he saw the offspring of his tears (*KuP.* 1.10.15-21; *SP.* 7.1.12.19-24).

Rudra Issues from the Head of Brahmā

In utter distress, Brahmā breathed his last. And from his mouth Rudra came forth: the breath of life itself, glorious as a thousand suns and blazing like the doomsday fire (*KuP.* 1.10.21-22; *LP.* 1.41, 42-43). Rudra then imparted the vital breaths to Brahmā, and brought him back to life (*SP.* 7.1.12.31-32). According to another version, Rudra sprang from the forehead of Brahmā, darkened with rage (*BhP.* 3.12.6-10). The *Mahābhārata* lists the eleven mind-born sons of Rudra, here called Sthānu, with the six mind-born sons of Brahmā (*Mbh.* 1.60.1-4).

Rudra, the avenger, at the dawn of creation was born into creation from Brahmā's wrath, from the middle of his forehead, where the world of the senses and the intellect meet. Or he left the body of Brahmā by his mouth as his life breath, as the breath itself of life (*KuP.* 1.10.22). Or "Brahmā created Rudra, born of his irate self...From his wrath a being was born with the influence of the sun" (*VaP.* 9.70, 75; *KuP.* 1.2.5-6; cf. *VrP.* 2.48-49; cf. *BhP.* 3.12.7). Radiant, glorious Rudra, the breath itself of life (cf. *BrUp.* 3.9.4), light of the sun and fire of doomsday, was born of Brahmā's anger. Anger had rankled in the Creator over the aeons from the beginning, when Rudra had aimed his arrow against the Father, against Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation. When the Creator in this present aeon sends into the world his mind-born sons, ascetics withdrawn from the world, he is no longer the Lord of Generation.

He also is no longer the Father, but is henceforth called Pitāmaha, the grandfather of the universe (*MBh.* 1.1.30; *KuP.* 1.2.5), and becomes Brahmā, the Creator, the theomorph of the *Brāhman*, the absolute, the undefinable plenum, the Uncreate. As such his mind-born sons are in direct descent from the Uncreate, Rudra being his last son. At the same time, however, Brahmā the Creator as well as Prajāpati are but successive forms of the Father, whose wrath or anger—the Father foamed like a bull when his intercourse was interrupted (cf. *RV.* 10.61.8)—finally triggers in Brahmā the creation of Rudra. Rudra, son of Brahmā, is born from Brahmā's wrath in this aeon, as he was born from that of Prajāpati before, when in the shape of Manyu he did not abandon the Lord of Generation. "Wrath

(Manyu) was born instantly as a blue-red boy from between the brows of Prajāpati (BhP. 3.12.7).

Rudra is born from Brahmā wrath, breath, and thought. He is born as the breath of life. When born from Prajāpati in a former aeon, he was a crying child or also Cosmic Man in his hunger, and he became the cosmos. Born from Brahmā, he is mind-born. The seed that he had prepared for the Father had become himself, the son of Prajāpati. Prajāpati freed his newborn child from evil; he also stilled his hunger, and the newborn god of eight names and stations became Aṣṭamūrti, the cosmos.

Now Rudra enters a new aeon, born not from the seed but from the mind of the Creator. He is born from the head of Brahmā—mind born, as were the other ascetic sons of Brahmā. Or he issues from the mouth of Brahmā as the breath of life itself in its fire and radiance. According to one ancient myth, it was from the mouth of the Creator Prajāpati, who alone existed in the beginning and considered how to reproduce himself; that Agni, Fire, was generated (SB. 2.2.4.1). Rudra is Agni. Fire As *prāṇa*, the life breath, he is the fire, the vitality of life itself. Rudra, the fire-seed of creation, son of Prajāpati, is Rudra, the breath of life, issued from Brahmā the creator.

But another myth relates how Rudra was born from a drop of Brahmā's blood? It oozed from Brahmā's forehead when he wiped away the sweat as he sacrificed into the fire caused by his self-glory. The drop of blood became Nīla-Lohita Rudra, the dark blue-red god (SkP. 5.1.2.24-26). Carnal though not sexual, this birth of Rudra is also from the forehead of the Creator. The blood magic of *nīla-lohita* is reincarnated in this birth story.

The shock of Rudra's primordial shot stayed with the Creator. When Rudra released his arrow against the Father, he projected himself into this target. The avenger injected his wrath into his aim. The Father broke out in rage. All the gods abandoned Prajāpati when he had spent himself into creation. Only god Manyu (Wrath) stayed with him and became his son, Archer and Cosmic Man (Puruṣa) in one. When Brahmā, the Creator, laboured in the agony of creation, anger seized him. The sons that in the end were born from his mind were all ascetics. Finally from his wrath Rudra, the Great Yogi, appeared the breath itself of life. In the primordial scene Rudra the *yogi* had assumed the appearance of an archer. He was the guardian of hitherto unspent metacosmic integrity. Avenging the dissemination of its substance by the Creator, the full impact of the ascetic god hit Prajāpati. It occupied the mind of Brahmā, the Creator, and from it was born Rudra. Leaving the head of Brahmā, Rudra entered the world as an ascetic or an androgyne (Ch. VII) so as paradoxically to carry out Brahmā's desire for progeny, his desire for the creation of mankind.

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This encyclopaedia has been compiled by a leading Hindu spiritual teacher and eminent Vedic scholar *Swami Parmeshwaranand* of Haridwar (U.P.). He has written several books on Hindu religion and translated many important religious scriptures into English. He has also conducted several seminars, and workshops where many reputed theologians from all over the world took participation.

Jacket design: J.M.S. Rawat

ISBN-81-7625-427-4 (Set)

2003, Size-Crown, Copyrighted material



Sarup & Sons

PUBLISHERS

4740/23, ANSARI ROAD, DARYA GANJ, NEW DELHI-110002